‘Déanta i nÉirinn’: the reconstruction of Irish stereotypes, 1888-1914

John-Philip O’Connor

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Supervisor: Dr. John Logan

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Abstract

This thesis shows how the synthesis between model Irish villages and picture postcards led to a reconstruction of Irish stereotypes on ephemera and commercial goods between 1888 and 1914. During this period Ireland became a visual commodity at international exhibitions where visitors were offered a utopian version of Irish life devoid of agrarian and sectarian violence. This depiction was replicated on postcards, showing a picturesque country replete with stage Irish characters no longer threatening to British rule that attracted visitors as part of tourism’s commercial growth during this period. These new stereotypes were also used in the successful advertising campaigns of Irish manufacturing companies abroad, which increased their global dissemination and re-branded Irish identity for foreign consumers. At home, however, this identity was contested and by 1912 had split irrevocably along political and religious lines. Impending Home Rule had raised the possibility of civil war between Ulster unionists and Irish nationalists, both of whom now used propaganda for self-definition. As each side borrowed from a shared pool of iconography, a repetition of tropes occurred across the political divide, with both sides deploying Paddies and colleens in conflicting campaigns. This study focuses on Ulster unionism’s use of such stereotypes, highlighting their historical development in both English drama and travel writing about Ireland.
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Finally, thanks to Barbara Tadzik for absolutely everything and more besides. Without you I could not have done this. This thesis is dedicated to you. Kocham cie mo chailín. Go raibh maith agat.

Note: This thesis adheres to the capitalisation and referencing conventions of Irish Historical Studies.
Declaration.

I hereby declare that this thesis, submitted in fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, represents my own work.

_________________

(JP O’Connor).
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Chapter 1
A select historiography of Irish visual representation

INTRODUCTION
This thesis shows how the synthesis between model Irish villages and picture postcards led to a reconstruction of Irish stereotypes on ephemera and commercial goods between 1888 and 1914. During this period Ireland became a visual commodity at international exhibitions, whose visitors were offered a utopian version of Irish life devoid of agrarian and sectarian violence. This depiction of a picturesque country replete with stage Irish characters, no longer threatening to British rule was increasingly reflected on postcards attracting visitors as part of tourism’s stimulated growth during this period. These new stereotypes were also used in the successful advertising campaigns of Irish companies abroad, which extended their global reach and re-branded Irish identity for foreign consumers. At home, however, this identity was increasingly contested and by 1912 had split irrevocably along political and religious lines. Impending Home Rule had raised the prospect of civil war between Ulster unionists and Irish nationalists, both of whom now used propaganda for self-definition. As each side borrowed from a shared pool of iconography, a repetition of tropes occurred across the political divide. This study partly scrutinises how certain strands within Ulster unionism used such stereotypes, highlighting their historical development in both English drama and travel writing about Ireland. It also postulates the argument that the Irish tourist industry’s contemporary growth was a state sponsored private initiative aimed at quelling the demand for Home Rule that can be interpreted as falling within the remit of constructive unionism.

Systematically, the geographical parameters of this thesis are confined exclusively to Irish immigrant communities in Britain and the United States. Other Anglophone countries with significant Irish populations lie beyond the scope of its investigation. As part of an overall methodology incorporating theories from art history, cultural studies, photography, and tourism, this dissertation will apply the critical and analytical skills of the historical approach to a selective survey of advertisements, cartoons, postcards, model villages and travel books from the period 1888 to 1914. The reoccurrence of certain visual conceits across all these media point to a decisive shift in the portrayal of Irish
identity that differed significantly from earlier negative depictions. However, gauging the public reaction to such images is difficult and although plausibly leading to a change in external opinion about Ireland, the extent of that modification is one that historians can only guess at in the absence of any empirical evidence. The fact that most audiences were not homogenous compounds this problem further, and must be acknowledged as a limiting factor in determining how reconstructed Irish stereotypes were generally received beyond Ireland. Nevertheless, the Irish Tourist Association’s success in attracting bourgeois American and British tourists to the country does hint at a positive reception amongst this class for picturesque images of the Irish landscape; and provides a starting point for an investigation of those illustrated periodicals originally responsible for shaping its visual perception of Ireland.

For this reason a selection of images from *Punch* and *The Graphic* will be analysed to determine how such samples influenced the way in which Ireland and Irish identity – specifically Irish Catholic identity – were constructed in the early part of the period under review. Between 1831 and 1864 periodical circulation in Britain increased fifteen times with the total number of newspaper stamps issued for the latter year estimated at 546,059,400.¹ The popular press exerted a forceful persuasion on Victorian public opinion, which itself was divided into proletarian and bourgeois attitudes not always compatible on the same topic. The latter’s cultural hegemony was transmitted through a variety of publications that reflected the dominant social character of contemporary Britain and reinforced the commercial classes’ controlling position within it. The two periodicals above disseminated this outlook to middle-class readers and thus serve as an index for predominant British viewpoints on Ireland.

Conversely, a range of cartoons published by contemporary Irish periodicals like *Pat* and the *Weekly Freeman* will also be investigated to ascertain how the emerging Catholic bourgeois created an alternative visual narrative countering that found in British periodicals. While utilising similar stage-Irish tropes in their imagery, these nationalist journals inverted established Irish stereotypes to produce figures their readers could fondly relate to, without the overweening condescension and racism found elsewhere.

During the 1880s, the ‘Paddy’ and ‘colleen’ icons were appropriated to this end and transformed into benevolent archetypes reflecting the respectability of Ireland’s emerging Catholic middle classes in both town and countryside. ‘Paddy’ may be defined as the objectified Irishman whose lower-class wardrobe signified him as a member of the rural peasantry. In many nineteenth-century British cartoons this character possessed an unstable personality given over to acts of violence against the state. Other depictions showed him as a good natured simpleton with little interest in radical politics. In the latter case he was known as ‘Pat’ – a more respectable version of his alternative embodiment. The Irish nationalist press adopted and modified this figure to resemble a rural small property owner that satisfied their readers’ own social aspirations. Likewise the ‘colleen’ was similarly arrogated, although her romantic connotations with the Irish landscape had made her a less maligned figure in the British press than her politicised male compatriot. ‘Colleen’ may be defined as an Irish peasant girl whose positive depiction in nationalist cartoons was associated with a rural way of life. A deeper description of this archetype is given later on in this chapter, but at present it can be said that for nationalist cartoonists working in the heightened political atmosphere of time, the colleen represented an idealised version of Irish femininity that also corresponded to an iconic representation of Ireland under Home Rule. Reconstructed Paddy/Pat also symbolised this for nationalist audiences, although his later appearance on Ulster unionist graphic propaganda was intended to arouse an alternative interpretation amongst those against devolving any form of self-government to Ireland.

During the third Home Rule crisis of 1912 to 1914, reconstructed Paddy became a malleable figure to Ulster unionists, representing either Catholic Ireland’s inability to govern itself, or else symbolic of indigenous loyalty. Throughout the nineteenth century journals like *Punch* had applied the Paddy stereotype to their depictions of Ulster’s Protestants, albeit one with industrious overtones that contrasted with indolent portrayals of Catholics. Paddy was thus an icon shared by both Irish nationalists and Ulster unionists, to which the colleen can also be added based on evidence presented by this thesis. However, the extent to which both figures were rejected as a means of self-definition by elements within the former remains unclear for the period under review, although the proliferation of imperial iconography on Ulster unionist postcards during the
First World War suggests that this dismissal only took place on a large scale after 1914. Moreover the use of Irish motifs on the packaging of contemporary Ulster companies indicates that the use of such imagery was a viable commercial strategy beneficial to international sales, which compels an investigation of the motives behind their application and whether there was any overlap between the mercantile and political spheres in this process.

Consequently, one chapter of this study focuses on McClinton’s Soap Company of Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone because of the firm’s direct connection to several themes concerning its inquiry. In an effort to expand into the British market, the company’s Liberal Unionist owners built a model Irish village at the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition in London, using reconstructed Irish stereotypes derived from those found in earlier Irish nationalist cartoons. Its employment of Irish girls dressed as colleens became a successful attempt to launch an eponymous brand of soap, whose later sophisticated marketing campaign alluded to Ulster remaining part of the United Kingdom. The model village itself, aka Ballymaclinton, was photographed for a series of bestselling postcards that served as both tourist mementos and advertising for the company. Thus it is within this space that a convergence of various visual media occurred, all propagating a contrived and reconstructed view of Ireland primarily motivated by both a commercial and political agenda. The look of the village itself was based on picturesque photographs of Ireland taken by well-known native photographers like Robert Welch and Robert French (working for William Lawrence) while the overall mien of the colleen brand was centered on Irish artist John Carey’s attractive female archetype then circulating on picture postcards. As such it is McClinton’s synthesis of these diverse elements that qualify the firm’s inclusion as a case study, especially since its trademarking of the colleen archetype led to increased soap sales amongst its target market of British upper-class female consumers, evidently receptive to this brand personality. Whether British working-class women also reacted positively to this trope is something unclear at present, although the similarity of figures within contemporary suffragette visual propaganda suggests a reoccurrence of themes that future research may elaborate on.

The popularity of picture postcards during the 1900s and their link to international exhibitions as souvenirs warrants their investigation in this study as purveyors of ethnic
and racial identity. In Ireland their images included photographic reproductions of the island’s landscape and, more controversially, illustrated stage-Irish Paddies and colleens, which proved hugely popular with both Irish people and tourists alike. Similar to the nationalist cartoons of the late nineteenth century, these reconstructed stereotypes were a direct refutation of earlier negative portrayals of Irish identity in American and British periodicals, although their continued adherence to stage-Irish humour affronted some visiting Irish-Americans. The coincident invention of the Kodak box camera equipped visitors with the means to capture their own images of Ireland, which in many cases merely meant a repetition of pictures identical to those found in Irish Tourist Association guides – most bought from the respective studios of Robert Welch and William Lawrence. The display of the latter’s pictures in Lady Aberdeen’s Irish Village at the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair had been immensely fashionable with patrons, who reportedly purchased them in vast quantities and may have subsequently induced some to visit Ireland.² The mass appeal of international exhibitions ensured their audiences originated from all social classes, although it will be suggested that those later involved in travelling to Ireland for leisure sprang overwhelmingly from both the American or British bourgeois.

Thus it is within this methodological framework that this study is set. Its twenty-eight year time period encompasses the end of the land war continuing up until the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. A graphic reconstruction of Irish stereotypes definitively occurred during this era and it is the agendas behind this renewal, as well as the means by which it was accomplished, that this thesis will seek to address. Assumptions about the mass reception of such images shall remain inconclusive, owing to the historical difficulty in measuring such responses; a process complicated by the diversity of sources consulted throughout this thesis.

OVERVIEW OF HISTORIOGRAPHY
In his essay on visual caricature, Frank Palmeri has argued that cartoons are important for historians because they ‘provide indirect evidence of and access to the attitudes of the

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artist and his audience. Such works of popular culture may express both the indignation and joys of a larger and less affluent portion of a populace, or else the hegemonic concerns of the ‘dominant cultural configuration.’ Prior to the early 1970s the study of historical cartoons was a neglected area within Irish historiography. L.P. Curtis’s seminal *Apes and angels* published in 1971 redressed this oversight, heralding a breakthrough in the analysis of such images. His examination of nineteenth-century British and American newspaper cartoons of Ireland and Irish immigrants set out to uncover the racism at the heart of such depictions, and argued convincingly that Paddy – the objectified Catholic Irishman – was defined specifically as the binary opposite of John Bull (the ideal Englishman). Unlike his reliable counterpart, Paddy was wild, melancholic, indolent and unstable, with a predilection for drink that affected his ability to escape from poverty. This stereotype was a legacy of accretions of colonial discourse, as well as the influence of numerous English stage productions, where a century earlier the success of plays like Richard Sheridan’s *The Rivals* (1775) owed much to the rollicking antics of their Irish characters. Many of these stage Irishmen became archetypes for Irish characters in early nineteenth-century British cartoons and Curtis carefully highlighted the variety of these depictions, rather than the existence of ‘one singular monolithic Paddy type.’ He argued that ‘Pat’ and Paddy were alternate depictions of the Irish peasantry – the former a simple minded and apolitical individual opposed to the violent nationalism of his more radicalised compatriot. Artists depicted Pat with handsome features because he represented the ‘human but childlike face of Gaelic Ireland.’ Paddy, however, prompted an altogether more aggressive interpretation, symbolising the turbulence of nineteenth-century Irish life and its threat to the United Kingdom’s stability. In these images Paddy was portrayed as an armed brute engaged in nefarious activities against the forces of law.

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5 Jeffrey Richards, ‘Ireland, the Empire and film’ in Keith Jeffery (ed.), *An Irish empire?’ aspects of Ireland and the British Empire*, (Manchester, 1996), p. 26. (Hereafter: Richards, ‘Ireland, the Empire and film’.)
and order. By the 1860s his portrayal had become couched in terms of race, with many British comic weeklies depicting him as a cross between ‘a garrotter and a gorilla.’

It was this focus on Paddy’s simianisation that became the most controversial part of Curtis’s argument. His book was illustrated with a large number of nineteenth-century cartoons appearing to confirm Paddy’s degeneration at the hands of both British and American cartoonists. Curtis explained the reasons for this change in terms of the British intelligentsia’s application of Darwinian theory to ethnic and national groups, placing Anglo-Saxons at the top of an evolutionary hierarchy ranked according to different stages of civilization. The positioning of Irish Catholics towards the bottom of this taxonomy precipitated a process of simianisation that the satirical press facilitated through a proliferation of Irish brutes with thrusting jaws, bloated upper lips and bulbous noses. The resulting simian face was a significant move away from earlier depictions, which had adhered to the well-trodden themes of Irish fecklessness, intoxication and complacency. This process reached its apex by the 1880s as the combination of the first land war (1879-82) with Irish nationalist obstruction in parliament spurred British cartoonists to depict Paddy even more thoroughly ape-like.

Since the publication of Apes and angels several historians have challenged Curtis’s reliance on racial prejudice as the key to the negative representation of the Irish in the nineteenth century. In particular, Sheridan Gilley queried the merits of Curtis’s argument, by insisting that anti-Irishness was only animated in Britain during specific religious and political controversies. The reason why a more hostile depiction of Paddy emerged in the pages of magazines like Punch was because of his increasing preference for militant nationalism. Mass immigration into England and Scotland after the Great

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7 As quoted in Ibid., p. 31.
8 Michael de Nie, The eternal Paddy: Irish identity and the British press, 1792-1882 (Madison, WI, 2004), p. 6. In Victorian usage, ‘race’ was a flexible term used to describe cultural, social, linguistic, religious, and ethnic groups.
9 The equation of cranial dimensions with savagery was predicated on the belief that the relationship of mouth and jaw to the upper part of the skull was valid criteria for measuring the development from primitivism to civilization.
10 Curtis, Apes and angels, p. 38.
11 As quoted in Fintan Cullen, Visual politics: the representation of Ireland 1750-1930 (Cork, 1997) pp 82-3. (Hereafter: Cullen, Visual politics.)
Famine (1845-50) also contributed to this change in perception as competition for menial work often led to riots between English and Irish labourers.\textsuperscript{13} As Gilley put it:

> It would be truer to say that Englishmen had drawn from their long experience of the Irish a national stereotype which had both its good points and its bad: as good and bad points were defined by the Irish themselves. So the English invoked the good points or the bad according to their temperament, moment or mood. Thus an Irish riot or rebellion typified Celtic lawlessness … [and] a single drunken Irishman proved all Irishmen drunkards, as the idleness of unemployed Irishmen in a slum established Irish indolence.\textsuperscript{14}

Another critic of Curtis’s hypothesis was Roy Foster who contended that class and religion, rather than race, were central to English cartoonists’ construction of ‘an alien identity for the Irish.’ French apes were a commonplace trope used in \textit{Punch} cartoons, where all working-class types were portrayed as ‘dark and brutish.’ Foster agreed with Gilley’s assertion that militant nationalism and mass immigration further bestialised Paddy’s depiction in the British press, but he asserted that it continued to remain consistent with representations of the dangerous classes throughout the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{15}

In a revised edition of his book Curtis addressed both Foster’s and Gilley’s criticism. By denying that Irish immigrants in Britain were resented on account of perceived ethnic or racial difference, Curtis accused Gilley of ignoring all the ‘allusions to race in the political and social discourses’ of the British governing class. He refuted the idea that working-class English Catholics suffered the same level of prejudice as the Irish poor who had to live with the ‘constant social and psychological burden of being non-English’ in a country largely hostile to their migration. Curtis similarly dismissed Foster’s view that Frenchmen were subject to the same level of simianisation as the Irish. He argued that the simian Frenchman derived from ‘a long tradition of depicting monkeys in human poses and clothing’ and had nothing in common with ‘the demonic ape-man of English satirical imaginations.’ He also challenged Foster’s contention that the artists and writers of \textit{Punch} ‘rose above Hibernophobia’ by mocking everyone who

\textsuperscript{13} Declan Kiberd, \textit{The Irish writer and the world} (Cambridge, 2005), p. 21. (Hereafter: Kiberd, \textit{The Irish writer}.)

\textsuperscript{14} As quoted in Jeffrey Richards, ‘Ireland, the Empire and film’, p. 27.

\textsuperscript{15} Roy Foster, \textit{Paddy and Mr. Punch: connections in Irish and English history} (London, 1993), pp 180-93.
lay outside the ‘charmed circle of English middle-class respectability.’ By doing so he suggested, Foster blurred the distinction between the graphic treatment of Paddy and other male stereotypes.¹⁶

Curtis has not been alone in that argument. In 1979, Declan Kiberd published his oft-cited article in which he agreed with Curtis’s hypothesis, while drawing attention to the fact that Victorian English audiences also showered affection ‘on the Irish character of the music hall.’ This, he noted, may be interpreted as a ‘classic example of the tendency of all repressive regimes to sentimentalise their victims.’ However, Paddy’s simianisation also reflected a new racial outlook, missing from previous depictions. In some cases it suited Irish immigrants to conform to stereotype, because it permitted basic contact between them and their hosts, allowing ‘a circumscribed relationship that the Irish immigrant could control and regulate.’ By adopting the identity of the stage Irishman, immigrants could engage in an act of duplicity rather than reshape a ‘complex urban identity of their own.’¹⁷

Jeffery Richards has traced the origin of this archetype to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when Paddy was typically portrayed in stage plays as a colourful individual fluent in idiosyncratic English. Such protagonists were usually either boisterous Catholic servants or soldiers, whose occupations accurately reflected the contemporary reality of Irish life in England.¹⁸ More comprehensively, J.O. Bartley’s study of stage characters has shown how successful eighteenth century Anglo-Irish dramatists like George Farquhar contributed to the formation of the stage Irishman. Popular plays like Love and a Bottle (1698) and Twin-Rivals (1702) helped dispel the suspicions surrounding Irish Catholics in the aftermath of the Williamite conquest (1689-91). Bartley affirms that Farquhar’s treatment of the Catholic Irish is comparatively free from bitterness and is all the more judicious given that he was a Protestant and a member of the ruling Anglo-Irish elite.¹⁹ This era is also the point at which the familiar ‘Paddy’

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¹⁶ Curtis, Apes and angels, pp 10-120.
¹⁷ Kiberd, The Irish writer, pp 22-25.
¹⁸ Jeffrey Richards, ‘Ireland, the Empire and film’, p. 27.
stereotype emerged, an initially attractive stage creation that eventually developed into
the violent agitator of nineteenth century illustrations.20

Subsequently, in his most mature work LP Curtis has expanded his analysis of
nineteenth-century British cartoons to include those featuring depictions of Erin, the
female personification of Ireland. His profusely illustrated monograph from 2000,
examined how this allegorical figure was portrayed in both the British and Irish press
during Charles Stewart Parnell’s leadership of the Irish parliamentary party (1879-1890).
He showed that nationalist cartoonists relied heavily on Erin to express not only ‘the
imagined community’ of the Gaelic nation, but also the militant brand of nationalism
prevalent after 1879, resulting from the new departure of the Home Rule and tenant right
movements.21 British cartoons usually depicted her as a helpless maiden in need of
Britannia’s sisterly protection.22 Irish nationalist cartoonists, in contrast, preferred to
portray Erin as a ‘beautiful young maiden, unencumbered by husband and children …
who was both strong and infinitely desirable.’ Curtis credited artists such as John Fergus
O’Hea (1838-1922) and Thomas Fitzpatrick (1860-1912) with creating this archetype,
tracing Erin’s origins to ancient Irish myths about powerful female warriors and
goddesses. In the late eighteenth century, both the Irish Volunteers and United Irishmen
adopted her as a shared icon to symbolise their respective causes. After the Famine of the
1840s, this emblem achieved much wider circulation through the rapid expansion of Irish
newspapers and their inclusion of cartoons in Sunday supplements. Curtis argued that
nationalist cartoonists intended Erin to embody an ecumenical Irish nationality,
modelling her physique on the peasant girls, or colleens, in the paintings of some of the
most distinguished academic painters of the late nineteenth century, most notably
Frederick William Burton (1816-1900) and Augustus Burke (1838-1891). Other images
were less overtly sexualised and showed her wearing the classical garb usually associated

20 Mark McGovern, “‘The cracked pint glass of the servant’: The Irish pub, Irish identity and the tourist
eye’ in Michael Cronin and Barbara O’Connor (eds), Irish tourism: image, culture and identity, (Clevedon,
2003), pp 84-85. (Hereafter: McGovern, “‘The cracked pint glass.’”)
21 L. P. Curtis, Images of Erin in the age of Parnell (Dublin, 2000) p. 9. (Hereafter: Curtis, Images of
Erin). The new departure (1879) was a coalition of disparate groups (Fenians, Home Rulers, Catholic
clergy) that cooperated in the common cause of helping small farmers. See Alvin Jackson Home rule: an
Newspapers and empire in Ireland and Britain: reporting the British Empire c. 1857-1921 (Dublin, 2004)
pp 35-36.
with her sister Britannia. During the height of the land wars (1879-82 and 1886-91) Erin was also depicted as aggressive and assertive; a formidable virago designed to inspire support for both the new departure and the plan of campaign.23

Joel Hollander has built on Curtis’s work with his article on the portrayal of Irish female types during the same era, placing the figure of Erin within the wider European context of graphic illustration. He suggested that Erin should be seen as a counterpart to the female archetype ‘Madame Anastasie’, the ugly old woman used in nineteenth-century continental imagery as the personification of press censorship. Although he ignored the similarities between this figure and the Sean Bhean Bhocht (poor old lady) symbolic of Ireland in poetry, Holland stated that in post-Famine Irish terms the former can be interpreted as an ageing spinster forced to remain living in the rural homestead of her deceased parents. Conversely, the figure of Erin represented the ‘aspiring, upwardly mobile, and respectable young woman … determined to remain in her own country rather than emigrate.’ Hollander used Joanna Bourke’s study of the economic status of women in this period as a framework for his analysis, arguing that its application suggested that ‘Erin’s youthful, curvaceous aspects would have rendered her available for … assuming the role of wife once the goal of Home Rule was reached.’24

Similarly, Barbara O’Connor’s recent essay on the colleen archetype offered a compelling insight into its construction and popularisation during the nineteenth century, redressing the lack of critical attention that this figure has yet received from historians. O’Connor explained that the word colleen is a direct translation from the Gaelic word for young girl: cailín, with the suffix ‘ín’ denoting her junior status and social standing. Initially she was the subject of paintings, illustrations and folk songs, before appearing on postcards during the early twentieth century. The phenomenal success of Dion Boucicault’s *The Colleen Bawn* (1860) popularised her in the Victorian imagination. She differed from the Sean Bhean Bhocht and Erin in terms of her aesthetic and political function. A major factor in this was her obvious sexuality, culminating in her portrayal as a beautiful peasant girl with long dark or red hair, dressed in a cloak or shawl, generally

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covering her head. The colleen was also less explicitly political than these other figures, being primarily associated with the Irish landscape and a rural way of life.\(^{25}\)

Building on the work of Margaret MacCurtin – who described the colleen as having an ‘earthy eroticism and unconscious sensuality’ – O’Connor demonstrated how the young peasant girl was a popular subject in mid nineteenth-century European art. Between 1860 and 1881, Thomas A. Jones made her the subject of a series of paintings entitled *The Irish Colleen* that placed her serenely in a picturesque Irish landscape.\(^{26}\) Other artists showed her toiling against background images of rock, bog and mountain, embedding her barefooted in wild terrain. Additionally, depictions of colleens in urban settings appeared at the close of the nineteenth century, reflecting the growth of the market economy and the migration of country people to the towns.\(^{27}\)

One criticism of O’Connor’s analysis is her willingness to ignore part of Curtis’s hypothesis. She never mentions how nationalist cartoonists blended the colleen and Erin, treating them instead as distinctive singular icons that never merged. Another oversight is O’Connor’s failure to integrate the figure of the fiery Irish domestic servant of late nineteenth century American cartoons into her argument. In these images ‘Biddy’, as she was known, was routinely mocked for her unfamiliarity with American household ways. Maureen Murphy has shown this through an analysis of images from *Puck* magazine.\(^{28}\)

Its artists’ attitudes to Irish women ranged ‘from humour to ridicule, from bitter indignation to biting satire’, which resulted in an apelike appearance similar to their men-folk. The dishevelled and snarling features of these Irish girls contrasted to the beautiful colleen, whose demure but impish personality was the antithesis of their aggressive traits. Murphy argued that employers usually did not learn their servants’ names, instead referring to them generically as ‘Bridget’, Biddy or ‘Maggie’. She conceded though, that nineteenth-century American cartoonists usually depicted Irish women more favourably than Irishmen, who in most illustrations were shown to be idle and intoxicated while their

\(^{25}\) Barbara O’Connor, ‘Colleens and comely maidens: representing and performing Irish femininity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries’ in Eóin Flannery and Michael J. Griffin (eds), *Ireland in focus: film, photography, and popular culture* (Syracuse, New York, 2009), pp 144-46 (Hereafter: O’Connor, ‘Colleens and comely maidens’.)


\(^{27}\) O’Connor, ‘Colleens and comely maidens’, pp 148-49.

\(^{28}\) *Puck* was a contemporary American periodical.
wives and daughters worked nearby.  

Fintan Cullen’s essay on the *Illustrated London News* has shown how the paper set the agenda for the iconography of evictions in Ireland from 1840s to 1880s. Images of demolished cottages, forlorn figures and groups of police became standard tropes in portrayals of Irish agrarian unrest, holding a shocked fascination for the British public.  

Gerald Moran has noted how this widely-circulated newspaper instructed its artists to show the realities of the agrarian agitation as accurately as possible, avoiding the more exaggerated pictures of magazines like *Punch*. Among its chief correspondents was Irishman, Aloysius O’Kelly, whose work revealed sympathy for his aggrieved compatriots, elevating the ‘Irish political situation from a British domestic irritant to an international cause.’ Many of his illustrations were republished in French newspapers and their depictions of dynamic and intelligent Irish peasants countered the simians prevalent in the images of rival periodicals. Moran contended that artists at the paper went out of their way to give a balanced picture of the deteriorating situation in Ireland that demanded as accurate a view as possible. 

The prevalence of illustration accompanying text in late Victorian periodicals stemmed from contemporary technological advances in picture reproduction, which was active in creating a popular audience for images. From the 1840s onwards, illustration extended the commentator’s concerns and facilitated the entry of professional artists into journalism. In its opening issue in 1842, the *Illustrated London News* declared that art had become the bride of literature, referring to the way in which its illustrations and pictorial narrative worked as one. Engravings in contemporary novels depicted

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32 Niamh O’Sullivan, ‘Imaging the land war’ in Éire-Ireland, Vol. 39, Nos. 3-4 (Fall/Winter 2004), pp 101-08. *L’Univers Illustré* was one such French paper.


character, plot and dialogue that became integral to the reader’s total experience. Some artists like Halbot Knight Brown, aka Phiz (1815-82), enjoyed an unprecedented following, due primarily to his collaboration with Charles Dickens over ten successful novels. Richard Altick has stated that Brown’s pictures imitated stage tableaux and would have reminded theatre-going readers of scenes from popular plays. He suggested that historians know very little about the detailed responses of Dickens’s first readers apart from the reviewers, whose appraisals were vox criticī and not vox populi. Despite some critics faithfully expressing the reactions of thousands of bibliophiles who never publicly articulated them, most were in fact exceptional readers, possessing literary criteria and intellectual equipment that ‘qualified them to speak for one section of the reading public but not for anything like a majority.’

Likewise Anne H. Lundin’s survey of Victorian children’s books has revealed how the periodical press both reflected and constructed the public’s response to these publications. Literary journalists reviewed them in response to a heightened interest in children’s reading and a concomitant rise in the juvenile book market. Journals and magazines included essays on the relationship of children’s literature to art and education, expounding the criteria by which these works were interpreted and given value in the late Victorian period.

Another recent complementary survey has investigated how the Home Rule crises in 1886 and 1893 affected the liberal readership of periodicals like The Fortnightly Review and The Nineteenth Century. The contributors to these journals were intellectuals of the demystified type described by Antonio Gramsci; a social stratum that performed functions of organization in the realm of public opinion. The work of both editors and contributors was based on the assumption that what was published and the context in which it appeared could influence the readership. The liberal connections of these publications therefore allow historians to use them as an index to upper and middle-class liberal response to proposed Irish self-government. Between 1867 and 1882, The Fortnightly Review was edited by former Chief Secretary of Ireland, John Morley, one of Gladstone’s firmest supporters on Home Rule. By contrast his successor, Frank Harris,

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was an avowed unionist who used the journal to propagate his views to voters at election times in the hope of swaying their choice at the ballot box.\(^\text{37}\)

Similarly, Heinz Kosok has argued that the editors of \emph{Punch} exerted a profound guidance on the Victorian upper and middle classes that shaped their perception of Ireland. His comprehensive study of caricature and text over eighty journal volumes – from its inception to the founding of the Irish Free State – substantiates many of Curtis’s findings, and has led him to assume that \emph{Punch} did not merely reflect an image of the Irish created elsewhere, but was in fact one of its main sources. Kosok’s thorough analysis included examining the linguistic features, occupational categories and distinctive stage props used in creating the wild ‘Paddy’ stereotype, culminating in his conclusion that its central feature, from which all other characteristics can be shown to derive, was its violent irrationality.\(^\text{38}\)

Nineteenth-century cartoons, engravings and lithographs must thus be read through their own conventions and social codes in order to place these multi-layered texts within their broader cultural spectrum.\(^\text{39}\) In England between 1815 and 1841 albums of caricatures (sometimes called scraps) were published to placate a demand on the part of an expanding middle and lower class, for a fresh type of reading and looking. This period coincided with rising public literacy and increased working-class agitation that led to a change in the audience for political caricature. The founding in these years of the \emph{Illustrated London News} and \emph{Punch} created specialised vehicles that sought to neutralise radicalism, while at the same time educating the working classes in more respectable methods of political participation.\(^\text{40}\)

From the 1860s onwards \emph{Punch}’s predilection for simianising its Irish subjects was influenced by the abundance of illustrations depicting the process of evolution. In

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some cases Charles Darwin himself was shown as an ape/Darwin hybrid that firmly fixed his association with this theory. These humorous creatures were usually shown perched on a branch of the evolutionary tree, looking out at the viewer, who it was assumed would comprehend the joke as implying that this fictional creature was man’s missing link to the primates. Many of these cartoons featured not just apes and monkeys, but in particular gorillas, which enjoyed a lengthy vogue in Victorian Britain. After the publication of *The Descent of Man* (1871), gorilla cartoons appeared regularly in popular journals with many displaying a good-natured irreverence for their subject that may have helped public understandings of evolution. Constance Clark has argued that modern studies of these images have contributed to revisions of historians’ understanding of Darwinism and public responses to it. Recent historiography of Victorian science challenges the notion that Darwin set off a revolution causing profound culture shock; and that our later misconceptions of the reaction may have been influenced more by the rhetoric of exponents of evolution – ‘who sought to portray Darwinism as revolutionary and shocking’ – than by any evidence of actual responses to it on the part of the public.  

In order to gauge such responses literary historians have applied reception theory to their critical analyses of texts. Reception theory examines how literary works were originally received by readers, acknowledging that sociological factors shaped individual responses in a particular time and place. It asserts that a reader’s interpretation of a text is built by a chain of receptions that obscure its original meaning. Meaning is thus not determined solely at the point of reception; it is the product of a complex dialogue between producer and receiver that has been refracted through intermediaries like critics and editors. Although the material text remains the same, the received copy always changes because reading itself is an act of construction. Moreover it is the process of converting a writer’s words into the linguistic structure of one’s consciousness, bringing new contexts and analogies that are understood through established terms of reference.

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Reception is also defined in aesthetic and ideological terms, which influence the numerous ways a text is interpreted when originally published. Variations in typography, layout, and format dictate how readers comprehend the work at hand, resulting in a variety of responses that alter in different eras.44

Hans Robert Jauss has claimed that the historical life of a literary work is unimaginable without the active participation of its addressees, who perpetually produce new meanings upon consumption of its contents. A text is therefore not a stationary object offering identical views to each reader in different historical periods: rather it is more like ‘an orchestration’ that resonates with contemporary audiences as part of a continuing cycle of production. Jauss argued that a literary work, even when it appears to be new, predisposes its audience to a specific kind of reception by announcements, familiar characteristics, and implicit allusions. This new text evokes for the reader certain rules familiar from earlier texts, which are then varied and corrected to determine the limits of a genre-structure. The way in which a text satisfies, surpasses, disappoints, or refutes the expectations of its first audience at the historical moment of its appearance, provides a criterion for the determination of its aesthetic value. Every writer is thus dependent on the views and ideology of their audience for success and that this success expresses group expectations about particular topics.45

Roger Chartier’s innovative examination of the relationship between early modern French readers with non-canonical texts – specifically with cheap print and the importance of public reading – has broadened scholarly knowledge of the penetration of books into non-literate lives.46 Chartier has argued that meanings are derived from the forms through which texts are received and appropriated by their readers or hearers, and that a history of reading must also include obsolete habits such as reciting books aloud to illiterate audiences. By reconstructing contemporary ‘horizons of expectation’, defined as

the set of conventions shared by the work’s public, historians are thus equipped to
identify how a text’s first readers interpreted it upon publication. 47

In the realm of theatre audiences, Susan Bennet, has explored theories of
spectatorship and the cultural elements that create and inform the theatrical event.
Individuals attend the theatre as members of an already constituted interpretive
community that bring expectations shaped by pre-performance elements. The theatre
itself is divided into two frames: the outer frame, where the audience is located; and the
inner frame hosting the performance. At the centre of the latter is a succession of visual
and aural signs that the audience receives and interprets on a number of possible levels.
Their combination allows spectators to imagine the existence of a particular fictional
world on stage with its own governing rules. Unlike the reader, however, the spectator
experiences the ‘text’ within specific time constraints that deny the chance to repeat
readings, except by attending a second, different performance of the same production.
Occasionally the audience is asked to review the action by means of an onstage device.
This usually occurs through a flashback or a contrivance such as chorus or narrator. In the
latter instance the audience is expected to hypothesize about the accuracy of the
characters presenting the commentary. How far the audience accepts such a receptive
strategy will generally depend on some shared socio-cultural background between text
and spectators. 48

During the early nineteenth century the use of Hiberno-English diction,
phraseology and pronunciation in fiction aimed at rural Irish cottagers was an innovation
derived directly from English stage plays. Bourgeois Protestant writers applied it to their
texts in chapbooks to facilitate the better reception of their improving ideas amongst
cottagers who had forgone Irish for English as means of communication. Such tracts
originally provided cottagers with a cheap source of reading that featured amoral stories
of seduction, rape and sexual meddling. In an effort to counter this material, several
Protestant religious societies published pamphlets aimed at instilling morals within the
predominantly Catholic peasantry. These prints were designed to be indistinguishable

47 Roger Chartier, The order of books: readers, authors, and libraries in Europe between the fourteenth and
eighteenth centuries, (Lydia G. Cochrane, Trans.) (Stanford, 1994), pp 2-27
139-142.
from ordinary fiction and encouraged readers to identify with British laws and
government, as well as instructing them in superior methods of agricultural production.49

Raymond Williams has described the dominant social character of the United
Kingdom during this period, as an institutional form of the morality of the industrial and
commercial middle classes then running the country. Periodical fiction reflected this code
through its stress on entrepreneurial success and the conviction that the poor were so by
their own faults. Bourgeois readers were receptive to such ideals, emanating as they did
from inside their own class.50 Literate working-class audiences by contrast, were more
inclined towards exclusively proletarian newspapers and penny novels with sensational
storylines.51 These books, also known as ‘penny dreadfuls’, were a simple form of
entertainment associated primarily with lower-class youths, who, it was believed, were
responsible for most juvenile crimes. Their heroes were not themselves wage-slaves, but
temporarily impoverished ‘respectable’ young men or women, who became delinquent
after quarrelling with their employers or schoolmasters. Critics argued that tales of this
description were psychologically harmful because they provided young readers with a
distorted view of the world conducive to anti-social behaviour.52 John Springhill,
however, has refuted this notion, stating that rather than subverting Victorian social
structures, penny dreadfuls actually reinforced them and were put out by ‘déclassé
publishers whose origins were not infrequently upper-middle class.’53 A positive
reassessment of juvenile literature occurred in the 1890, when a growing preoccupation
with empire resulted in a spate of publications featuring model boy-heroes engaged in the
imperial mission. Conservative critics now approved of these adventures because their
host of enemies, including savage tribesmen, foreign soldiers and the Kaiser, were all
acceptable targets, whose vanquishing was doubly demonstrated in both text and

49 Rolf Loeber and Magda Stouthamer-Loeber, ‘Fiction available to and written for cottagers and their
children’ in Bernadette Cunningham and Maire Kennedy, (eds), The experience of reading: Irish historical
perspectives (Dublin, 2000), pp 124-49.
50 Raymond Williams, ‘The long revolution’ in Bob Ashley (ed), Reading popular narrative: a source book
51 Alvar Ellegard, ‘The readership of the periodical press in Mid-Victorian Britain II. Directory’ in
Victorian Periodicals Newsletter, No. 13 (Vol. 3, No. 3) (September, 1971), pp 3-22.
52 Patrick A. Dunae, ‘Penny dreadfuls: late nineteenth-century boys’ literature and crime’ in Victorian
Brett and the London “low-life” penny dreadfuls of the 1860s’ in Victorian Studies, Vol. 33, No. 2 (Winter,
1990), pp 226-38.
escorting illustrations.  

A decade earlier both the Illustrated London News and The Graphic had frequently published sketches showing Irish resistance to British rule in the form of battering rams used in evictions during the plan of campaign. Throughout July 1888, the latter depicted the evictions on the Vandeleur estate in southwest Clare, showing the sheriff and members of the Royal Irish Constabulary puncturing the walls of various barricaded houses. Curtis argued convincingly that the use of the battering ram in such evictions was ‘a public spectacle designed to teach the tenantry a lesson about the futility of defying the law.’ In response nationalist newspapers like the Weekly Freeman and United Ireland published fully coloured polemic cartoons illustrating the plight of tenants. Cartoonists like John F. O’Hea (Weekly Freeman) and John D. Reigh (United Ireland) incorporated the ram into their illustrations, because it served as a condemnatory trope for Irish chief secretary Balfour’s coercive regime and its support of landlords in their counteroffensive against the plan of campaign.

Photographs of the country, of which the London Stereoscopic Company first sold editions in 1858, also supplemented illustrations of Ireland during this period. In recent years several studies on the early history of photography in Ireland have been completed – the most exhaustive being Peader Slattery’s three volume doctoral thesis on the use of photography since 1839. Other scholars, like Edward Chandler have given an overview on the work of early Irish pioneers like Frederick Holland Mares, who produced the most comprehensive and best-known collection of Irish views prior to William Lawrence entering the trade in 1870. Chandler has argued that Mares’ work is easy to recognise

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55 L.P. Curtis, ‘The battering ram and Irish evictions, 1887-90’ in Eire-Ireland, Vol. 42, 3-4 (Fall/Winter 2007), p. 222. The plan of campaign was started to counter agricultural distress caused by depression in dairy prices, which left many tenants in arrears unable to pay rent. Its purpose was to secure a reduction in rents on terms manageable to the tenant. If the landlord disagreed then the tenants were to pay no rent at all. Campaigners then collected these withheld rents to assist evicted tenants. See Lawrence Geary, The plan of campaign, 1886-1891 (Cork, 1986).
59 Edward Chandler and Peter Walsh, Through the brass lidded eye: photography in Ireland, 1839-1900 (Dublin, 1990), p. 21. (Hereafter: Chandler and Walsh, Through the brass lidded etc).
because his pictures are distinguished by a particularly romantic view of the country that ultimately formalised the tropes used in its depiction.  

Mare’s portrayal of Ireland as a picturesque land covered in mist-shrouded ruins influenced the design of Irish stage sets in Victorian theatre. According to Michael R. Booth, dramatists and scene painters now conceived Irish scenery in terms of this aesthetic precept, decorating their backdrops with rugged landscapes and ancient relics. The concurrent increase in publication of illustrated travel books in the 1830s and 1840s also helped British playwrights internalise a visual impression of Ireland. Booth has suggested that this scenic reproduction of reality was essential to an era, whose visual taste was stimulated by the invention of photography and where theatre was viewed and consumed through the architectural development of the ‘picture frame’ stage.

Photography’s growing importance as a visual medium was acknowledged at the 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition, London, where a salon of photography expressed the idea that the camera now brought all nations under a common gaze. Anne McClintock has affirmed that photography made western knowledge and western authority synonymous with the real. Scientific naturalism assumed the existence of pure facts in nature that could only be gleaned through impartial methods of analysis and observation. Photography thus became an attractive and widespread instrument of scientific inquiry, because it was considered a passive and disinterested process that accurately recorded reality. Its privileged position within the realm of science arose from the consensus that the photographic image, when needed, could function as reality itself. This led to the image’s representative status being ignored in favour of its identity with its referent. The signifier and the signified were thus collapsed into one with the symbol

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61 Chandler and Walsh, Through the brass lidded etc, pp 34-35.
62 Michael R. Booth, ‘Irish landscape in the Victorian theatre’ in Andrew Carpenter (ed.), Place, personality and the Irish writer (Buckinghamshire 1977), pp 160-63. These illustrated titles included Ireland Illustrated (1831), The scenery and antiquities of Ireland (1842) and Ireland: its scenery, character, etc (1841-43).
becoming reality. The camera was conceptualised as an agent of progress, embodying the ability to record all phenomena accurately.

Although not dealing with Irish visual representation, James Ryan’s *Picturing Empire: photography and the visualisation of the British Empire* (1997) is nonetheless, essential to any analysis of photographs of Ireland from the period under review. Ryan has explored how British colonial photography expressed ideologies of imperialism and Britain’s expanding role within the world. A powerful vision of empire was projected through carefully selected photographs from government departments, imperial institutions, private individuals and railway companies. These photographs revealed the natives of various dominions and territories through the eyes of colonial administrators, promoting the idea of a unified empire. This imagery occupied a central place within Victorian culture and was used as both a measure of physical difference and as a description of nationality. Colonial photographs reinforced wider racial categories by drawing on social Darwinism to present their images as objective scientific records. This belief in the power of the camera to accurately survey landscapes and people reflected its association with precise scientific purposes. Photography’s application across a range of scientific practices was linked to the complex organisation of the modern state, becoming part of this process when the demand for modes of empirical observation and documentation were at their highest.

Gail Bayliss has placed Ryan’s work in an Irish context through her analysis of how the Irish Crime Branch Special (Special Branch) used surveillance photography during the 1880s and 1890s. She has shown how Ireland served as ‘a laboratory for testing out modes of visual control; a site where difference had to be made visible’ in order to support British administrative policy. The 1881 Protection of Property (Ireland) Act permitted the photographic surveillance of those suspected of perpetrating agrarian crime. Police photographs of evictions were paralleled by commercially produced images that provided an alternative visual narrative of constabulary activities. These established

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the terms on which rural unrest would be popularly understood, setting the ‘agenda for the interpretation of police activities through the representation of the eviction scene.’ Images of destroyed homes and ejected tenants established an ‘emotive register of victims of an unjust system’ that entrepreneurs like William Lawrence of Dublin later used to sell their photographs.  

Fintan Cullen has elaborated on this point in his study of lanternslides from the studio of William Lawrence in the 1880s. During this time, Lawrence was the most successful photographic studio in Ireland, selling a set of sixty eviction scenes from all over the country.  

Twenty-one of these were from the Vandeleur estate in county Clare, where a large number of evictions occurred in July 1888. Images of battering rams, smashed homesteads and evicted families were a thematic departure for the company, which previously had profited mainly from selling tourist photographs of Irish towns and landscapes. Lawrence’s decision to market ‘national sentiment at a time of great political tension’ can be interpreted as an attempt to create the alternative visual narrative referred to by Bayliss. The fact that Lawrence’s photographer, Robert French, was a former police officer – ‘a force pertinent in many of these photos’ – resulted in photographs that allowed for an open response from the viewer.  

Such a hypothesis is consistent with modern photographic theory, which no longer assumes the camera is neutral. Instead, it claims that the camera produces coded representations created by individuals who are themselves subjects of historical ideology. Michele Foucault argued that photographs are ideologically located within the hegemonic ‘regime of truth’ and can only be understood within certain relations of power. A ‘regime of truth’ is the relationship ‘truth has to the systems of power that produce and sustain it’. It is a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operation of statements. Foucault asserted that each society has its own regime of truth, which creates ‘the types of discourse it accepts and makes function as

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71 Cullen, ‘Marketing national sentiment’, p. 175.

true.’ It emanates from specific ideological apparatuses (university, military, media) and is subject to ‘constant economic and political incitation.’\(^73\) Truth is thus an ideology of control by the class that holds power and controls the state institutions in its own self-interest.\(^74\)

Spurgeon Thompson has shown how the mass production of hand-held cameras in the 1890s had broad social and cultural consequences that undermined this visual ‘regime of truth.’\(^75\) The development of daylight loading film and the mass-production of picture postcards coincided with the democratisation of travel and the expansion of tourism.\(^76\) George Eastman’s cheap pocket sized Kodak Brownie camera created a revolution based on the premise that almost anyone could now take a picture.\(^77\) Prior to this cameras had been unwieldy to use and too expensive for anyone outside of the middle and upper classes to afford. Randal Rogers’s study of photography at the 1904 St. Louis Exhibition demonstrated how the representational limits of the medium were freed ‘from the self-has possessed and controlled documentary imperatives that had previously marked portraiture and anthropological photographs.’ He credited the onsite Kodak pavilion for this liberation, contending that its recorded 50,000 camera rentals created a nascent popular photographic culture that had consequences for contemporary tourist sights.\(^78\)

Chris Rojek has described such places as spatial locations distinguished from everyday life by virtue of their natural, historical or cultural extraordinariness.\(^79\) Spurgeon Thompson’s essay on tourist photography of the Irish countryside between 1900 and 1914, has investigated the visual manufacture of such myths, stating that within that period approximately 100 travel guides, published mainly in England, were written

about Ireland. What distinguishes it is the rise in the use of photography to represent the inhabitants and the landscape. The medium’s new deployment in travel writing challenged the genre’s limits, while simultaneously reinforcing the range of stereotypes that had long been its signature. Such images were very significant for tourism because people could now anticipate destinations in advance of any visit. Thompson contends that this became an unprecedented way to guarantee ‘product reliability’, because it functioned as ‘truthful’ advertising. In Ireland’s case photographs of cottages, donkeys, landscapes and people, underlined what was ‘typical’ to create a brand for the country. Photographs assured potential tourists that Ireland was what travel writers said it was, converting Irish people into ‘objects, not subjects of history’.80

For Justin Carville, the contemporary distinction between photography in natural history and those in picturesque tourism hinged on popular conceptions. Tourism was seen as an interpretive depiction of nature, whereas natural history was seen as the objective representation of the world. Unlike the former, natural history images were collected and then separated into their discursive categories. Carville has argued that such images were inseparable from concerns of cultural and political identity. Physical mobility came to be associated with social mobility and tourism became a popular leisure activity of the middle classes. Leisure provided the opportunity to display social standing and ‘natural history became one of those disciplines in which social mobility and moral propriety could be expressed while touring and travelling.’ Carville declared that the field clubs of late Victorian Ireland mirrored the cultural hegemony of middle class tourism and leisure. They were primarily Protestant and carried out numerous excursions into the north and west of Ireland, culminating in the 1909-11 Clare island survey. Robert Welch’s photographs of these expeditions functioned as objects ‘through which the middle class naturalists exterior presence in the natural world could be affirmed.’ Carville contended that Protestant interest in Irish cultural and national identity was directed primarily at its own industrial and commercial classes, whose main concern was for economic independence rather than political autonomy.81

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Vivienne Pollack has also made Robert Welch the subject of a paper that surveyed his life and working methods. She has shown how Welch made his name commercially through his ‘Irish Views’ series, which included antiquarian and ethnographic images as well as scenic land and townscapes. These were published as either bound albums or individual prints and were bought for display in rail carriages, hotels and transatlantic liners. In 1903 the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Co. published a special illustrated guide entitled *Ireland, Where to Go*, using 150 Welch photographs that attracted attention in America. Welch’s images of the country conformed to the aesthetic principles of the picturesque, his style likely influenced by the earlier work of Frederick Holland Mare. Many of Welch’s photographs were also reproduced in guidebooks and the international advertising campaigns of Irish companies trading abroad. One such was Ross’s Royal Belfast Mineral Water Company, which used a Welch picture of a fish hawker with her donkey cart on promotional posters in the United States. This image was later reproduced as a popular postcard for sale at newsagents and tourist centres around Ireland.82

Marion Markwick has described these souvenirs as a narrative focus for the tourist experience that are sent home in order to validate the tourist’s knowledge of their location. She has compared tourism to a ‘sacred journey’ of transformation in which the tourist ‘self’ is transformed through information gained by contact with the host. The postcard can be considered a memento of this occasion and its dissemination to viewers earns status for the sender by confirming their experience of the unusual. Everyday imagery lends further legitimacy to the experience since picture postcards of the everyday convey an intimacy that appeals to the tourist’s desire for the authentic. Markwick argued that since the tourist is not part of the host’s population, their experience of the authentic is vicarious, occurring only in the imagination. However, the purchase of a postcard retains its symbolic meaning because it was bought in the locality of production. Furthermore, the nature of the photographic image provides a seeming direct contact with the host culture by concealing the mediation of the photographer. The photograph appears to be believable as a ‘true’ reflection of actual places, people, and events. These

82 Vivienne Pollack, ‘All in a day’s work:’ Robert John Welch and his world’ in Ciara Breathnach (ed.), *Framing the west: images of rural Ireland 1891-1920* (Dublin, 2007), p. 13. (Hereafter: Breathnach, *Framing the west*).
images thus ‘authenticate’, so that buying a picture postcard on holiday effectively represents the genuineness of the tourist experience.\(^{83}\)

Elizabeth Edwards has expanded Markwick’s investigation by calling the picture postcard a multi-faceted icon that enhances the tourist experience. Similar to photographs, their division of space and time can be ‘incorporated into a unified experience which, from beginning to end, revolves around images.’\(^{84}\) These images symbolise particular desires and fantasies that are central to tourist motivations. The attraction of specific tourist sites is fed through the imagery of popular anthropology and travel literature – products of ideological discourses dominant in a specific historical context.\(^{85}\) The result is an inevitable commoditisation of local culture where authenticity is consciously invoked as an actual marketing strategy.\(^{86}\) Postcards are thus consumed as authentic experiences, without tourists recognising their corruption by a mediating influence i.e. the photographer.\(^{87}\) ‘Postcards,’ she noted, ‘reproduced pre-existing beliefs through which Victorian and Edwardian society ordered people. This social order that carefully ranked people by social class, biological sex, race and age, gave privileges to those with greater status including the ability to view others as objects.’\(^{88}\)

At present there is a paucity of research on the history of postcard collection (deltiology) in Ireland. The respective articles of A.P. Behan\(^ {89}\) and Seamus Kearns\(^ {90}\) in the *Dublin Historical Record*, have both given a potted history, without elaborating on the significance of particular images in an Irish context. The same can be said for Niall Murphy’s *A Bloomsday postcard* (2004), in which the author assembled a selection of 240 posted in 1904. It commemorated the events of *Ulysses* by presenting the messages

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\(^{85}\) Markwick, ‘Postcards from Malta’, pp 421-34.


\(^{90}\) Seamus Kearns, ‘Collecting picture postcards’ in *Dublin Historical Record*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (Autumn, 2001), pp 139-44.
of ordinary Dubliners who could have hypothetically walked the streets side by side with James Joyce’s characters. The book’s accompanying photographs showed the range of different themes printed on Edwardian postcards, including satires on upper middle-class life, events from the Russo-Japanese war and scenes from the Dublin Horse Show. Included also were illustrations by graphic artist John Carey (1861-1943), who made a comfortable living depicting scenes from Irish life for both William Lawrence and Fergus O’Connor. The popularity of his postcards at home and abroad, testifies to a new more benign perception of the Irish stereotype. Carey helped transform the aggressive simian Paddy character of the nineteenth century into a more endearing model still adhering to stage Irish tropes. Murphy’s book reproduced many of these illustrations, which show a picturesque Ireland inhabited by pipers, pigs, Pats and colleens all happy together in their bucolic world.91 His inclusion of endnotes identifying different Irish picture postcard publishers serves as a valuable guide for further historical research.

In terms of historical surveys, *John Bull’s famous circus* (1985) is the only publication yet to emerge in the field. Its author, John Killen, initially looked at the use of postcards in Ireland, but confined his analysis to post-partition Ulster in later chapters. He highlighted how Irish Unionists originally complained to the British government for publishing postcards with just ‘Great Britain’ printed on them, stating that this episode in postal history ‘acquires a certain seminal importance when one considers the later interaction between the postcard, Ireland and politics.’ He also considered brothers John and Joseph Carey, emphasising their association with Irish nationalist, Bulmer Hobson, and their propaganda work for Hobson’s magazine *The Republic*. The postcards included with each issue expressed the liberal and nationalist sentiments of the United Irishmen, often depicting scenes from their 1798 uprising. Killen’s study also included an analysis of political postcards from the third Home Rule crisis, which was supplemented by many illustrations as way of example. These images featured Ulster volunteers, prominent politicians, Union Jacks and colleens – the latter used to convey a romantic portrayal of

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91 Niall Murphy, *A Bloomsday postcard* (Dublin, 1904), pp 21-214.
Ulster’s plight, through their depiction as deserted women preparing to defend Ulster from enforced Home Rule.92

Jeanne Sheehy’s comprehensive study of Irish material culture between 1830 and 1930 forgoes any analysis of postcards. Their omission from her research is never explained and might be considered a crucial oversight because of the postcard’s pervasiveness during the latter third of this period. Her focus on the applied arts, however, has revealed how popular Irish symbolism was used exuberantly. By the middle of the nineteenth century, Irish motifs were being increasingly applied to sculpture, precipitating in the figure of Erin becoming a popular public emblem. The Bank of Ireland in College Green, Dublin, for example, has a carving of Erin with her harp and crown by her side as she sits on a pedestal with the words Éire go Bragh (Ireland Forever) inscribed. This statue dates from 1889 and is typical of the themes sculptors produced at a time of burgeoning national consciousness. Furniture was also similarly decorated, with manufacturer Arthur J. Jones noted for embellishing one of his suites with statuettes of both Queen Victoria and an Irish wolfhound resting on a heart-shaped shield, bearing the words Cuisle mo croidhe (‘Darling of my heart’). Most were made from bogwood because of its rich ebony colour and sold primarily to tourists as souvenirs. Bogwood ornaments were also made to stand on mantelpieces and scores of miniature high crosses, round towers and Erins gracing them throughout the latter decades of the nineteenth century.93

A review of such ornaments formed the basis of Neville Irons’ essay. He has listed the designers and manufacturers involved in their production, giving special mention to the Goggin family of Dublin, who produced three generations of bogwood carvers. Photographs accompanying the article showed various statuettes of Henry Grattan, Daniel O’Connell, and the ubiquitous stage Irish Paddy. This commodification of Irish culture was profitable for tourist centres like Killarney, which by the middle of the nineteenth century had a flourishing souvenir industry. Irons also highlighted that bog oak ornaments were displayed at the 1851 Crystal Palace exhibition, with some items

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depicting stereotypical scenes from Donnybrook Fair, an annual event notorious for its violence.94

Leon Litvack’s article on Ireland’s contribution to the exhibition has shown that the country – like Scotland – had no official section. It was staged in the wake of the worst years of the Famine, with Ireland’s anticipated input inviting derision from the Illustrated London News, which lambasted its ‘backward civilization’ for sending useless articles undeserving of ‘much attention.’ Litvack has also drawn attention to the simultaneous publication of a satirical booklet entitled Mr. Gogglye’s visit to the exhibition, whose illustrations mocked Irish products. His article went on to look at the subsequent exhibitions held in Cork (1852) and Dublin (1853), describing them as a form of colonial mimicry that attempted to emulate those in the metropolitan centre.95

Deirdre Campion, in the first full academic study of Irish iconography at international exhibitions, has argued that Ireland’s identity became increasingly visible later on. The application of shamrocks, harps, round towers, Erin and wolfhounds to Irish export goods helped distinguish them from foreign competitors that forced a patriotic response from Irish immigrant consumers in their adopted countries. This iconography eventually became associated with a national style and provided ‘a platform for national symbols’ that ‘helped forge an image of Ireland in a populist manner.’96 The 1888 Irish Exhibition at Olympia, London, formed a case study in Campion’s dissertation that traced the origin of the model Irish village to this event. Here it was constructed to show a ‘realistic picture’ of Irish life; staffed by Irish girls in ‘national costumes’ who sold articles to curious visitors. An art gallery was also present, displaying portraits of Daniel O’Connell and paintings of Irish evictions scenes – the significance of which Campion overlooked, failing to place this artistic genre in the context of the concurrent land agitation in Ireland. Her analysis has gone no further than some press criticism of the exhibition itself, while the presence of ‘colleens’ is but briefly dealt with.

This last point forms the basis of Brendan Rooney’s analysis of the same exhibition. He has argued that the prevalence of colleens resulted in a gendered display of Irish life that was designed to appease the British public and to openly depoliticise the country. The designers of the Irish village in 1888 – philanthropist Mrs. Alice Hart and Lord Leitrim – resolved to present the positive side of Ireland as they themselves envisaged it, using ‘colleens’ to make it more palatable to an English audience accustomed to press reports of agrarian violence. According to Rooney, the Irish village was thus a subjective interpretation of Ireland. His investigation of the contents of the art gallery is more detailed than Campion’s, emphasising that the eviction scenes reflected the artists’ concern for the plight of the rural poor.97 Rooney’s article was accompanied by contemporary illustrations of the Irish village from both Queen magazine and The Graphic. However, his analysis does not interrogate the authenticity of these images and whether the design of the village itself accurately reflected the lay out of contemporary Irish hamlets. Similarly, Janice Helland’s recent article on the same subject also failed to analyse identical images, instead re-threading both Campion and Rooney’s work without offering any new insight into the Irish Exhibition at Olympia.98

To date Mary Colette Sheehan’s dissertation on Irish villages has offered the most comprehensive morphology on the topic. Although primarily concerned with issues of national representation at Ballymaclinton, (the Irish village built for the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition in London), Sheehan began her analysis with a brief investigation of the two model villages built for the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair. She noted that Mrs. Hart and Lady Aberdeen were the respective patrons of these rival villages, without explaining why their original plan for a joint exhibit did not come to fruition. Neither Sheehan’s and Campion’s studies contextualise contemporary politics adequately; for example both overlook parliament’s rejection of a second Home Rule bill earlier that year.99 Neither also mention the controversy surrounding the two attacks on the Union Jack flying over

the replica of Blarney Castle in Lady Aberdeen’s village that occurred at the end of October 1893.\textsuperscript{100}

Sheehan does however offer a methodical account of Ballymaclinton, arguing that it exhibited a microscopic view of Ireland purged of all its disorderly elements. The village was designed to affect a positive response in the visitor ‘not only about Ballymaclinton itself, but by logical extension Ireland.’ It was the venture of McClinton’s soap company, Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone, drawing on ‘ideas concerned with purity, an un tarnished ideal, [as well as] places and products uncontaminated by the modern world.’\textsuperscript{101} As in the 1888 Irish Exhibition, colleens featured prominently, with picture postcard manufacturer James Valentine & Sons, Dundee, producing thousands of prints featuring these Irish women. The colleens resided in the village for the duration of the exhibition and were subject to a deepened male gaze. Sheehan overlooked their role as the reification of an eponymous brand of soap that McClinton’s intended to launch on the British market; and also ignored the liberal Unionist background of owners Robert and David Brown and the significance of displaying Ireland at an imperial exhibition celebrating of the recently agreed\textit{Entente Cordiale} between Britain and France in 1904.

Sheehan has built upon the work of Paul Greenhalgh and Annie Coombes, which both predate her own research by a decade. Greenhalgh in particular was the first historian to examine model villages in the context of international exhibitions, stating that most nations opted to show themselves as ‘residing in pleasant holiday camps where everybody had plenty, everyone was content, and everyone knew his or her folk tunes by heart.’ He has argued that Scottish and Irish villages were ‘ideologically difficult places for the British to create because they raised issues about the status of Ireland and Scotland in relation to the colonies of the empire.’ By showing Ireland as a rural arcadia inhabited by ruins and colleens, organisers at exhibitions were relating to it as a marginal nation of the Empire. This had implications for power relations between the metropolitan

\textsuperscript{100} Irish Times, 28 Oct. 1893.
core and periphery with displays like Ballymaclinton helping to maintain the centre’s monopoly of control.\textsuperscript{102}

Annie Coombes devoted a chapter to the same subject in her influential book, \textit{Reinventing Africa: museums, material culture and popular imagination} (1989). Her focus were the colleens themselves, asserting that Ballymaclinton provided one of the ‘clearest examples of how inextricably interrelated were the discourses on national identity, gender and imperialism.’ The girls served to consolidate a whole set of ideologies and their work in the village – soap making, hospitality, dancing – presented a peaceful picture of ‘archaic and simple living.’ Coombes also discussed Lady Aberdeen’s (1857-1939) involvement with the village and how all its profits were eventually donated to her anti-tuberculosis fund. She argued that Ballymaclinton dispersed the more militant aspects of the Gaelic revival into a ‘folksy rendition of what was presented as a common Celtic heritage’ to visitors of the exhibition. Moreover, she made the point that the Irish village served as undeniable proof that Irish Protestants and Catholics could live peacefully together, especially at a time of increasing tension. The village itself was also indispensable to the goal of British national unity, in that Ireland was represented as ‘an authentic originary culture’ integral to a homogenous British identity.\textsuperscript{103}

Despite its strength, Coombes’s analysis does have its flaws. The author has placed too much emphasis on Lady Aberdeen’s role in the running of the village, ignoring completely the Brown brothers’ ownership of its contents. In fact Lady Aberdeen’s only association was through the anti-tuberculosis fund and her input into the daily running of village was negligible. Consequently, the commercial aspect of the village was not considered, nor how the colleens were a reification of a particular brand of McClinton’s soap. Coombes has however argued that the colleens’ presence did have implications for British middle-class women, because it reinforced ‘the ideology that philanthropy was the proper avenue of public service’ open to them.\textsuperscript{104} Again this argument is based on her mistaken assumption that Lady Aberdeen was in charge of the village and that Ballymaclinton was an exclusively philanthropic undertaking. Although

\textsuperscript{102} Paul Greenhalgh, \textit{Ephemeral vistas: the expositions universelles, great exhibitions and world’s fairs, 1851-1939} (Manchester, 1988), pp 106-08. (Hereafter: Greenhalgh, \textit{Ephemeral vistas}).
\textsuperscript{104} Ibid., p. 213.
the Irish village did have an agenda directed at this segment of British society, it was a mercantile rather than an altruistic project. Coombes illustrated her text with several postcards of Ballymaclinton. While their insertion showed how life was lived in the village, Coombes overlooked their context and content, an omission that this thesis will seek to address in a later chapter.

CONCLUSION
The above review of the historiography of Irish visual representation argues for enlargement. Previous studies have not sought to subject cartoons, photographs, picture postcards and model Irish villages to a cohesive analysis that examines their interrelated and combined contribution in forming and propagating new Irish stereotypes on ephemera and commercial goods between 1888 and 1914. Furthermore, no enquiry has yet shown how late nineteenth-century tourism to Ireland participated in the evolution of benign Irish stereotypes removed from earlier demeaning depictions. As a result the connection between mass tourism and international exhibitions in this process has been overlooked. The simultaneous emergence of mass tourism and international exhibitions in the latter half of the nineteenth century was not coincidental, with tourism usually following pre-existing routes of imperialist expansion.105 Its professional development in Ireland occurred in the peaceful years after the land war under the auspices of the Irish Tourist Association established in 1895, which marketed the country abroad as a centre of hospitality inhabited by law-abiding subjects. Model Irish villages also played a major part in disarming the unruly Irish stereotype and their popularity at international exhibitions suggests that this aim was mainly successful. The large contingent of Irish girls hired as colleens at each fair figured in this re-appraisal, serving to make Ireland an attractive place within the imagination of visitors. As John MacKenzie observes: ‘Yesterday’s enemies, the perpetrators of yesterday’s barbarism, became today’s exhibits, showing off quaint music etc … but now set on the path to civilisation.’106

The fact that these model villages were also sites where Irish identity was contested has, up until now, been something virtually ignored by all those historians who

have made such exhibits the focus of their studies. The controversy surrounding the
treatment and behaviour of Cork’s Barrack Street band at the 1888 Irish Exhibition,
Olympia, has never been integrated into any analysis of the fair; nor has its sham eviction
been placed in any political context or investigated in terms of how this spectacle
undermined its non-political ethos. While the exhibition’s replica Irish village and
colleens attempted a rehabilitation of Ireland’s image, this tableau on the lawn outside the
main pavilion demonstrated the lingering unrest in the country.107

Historians have not explored in depth the presence of competing Irish villages at
the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair. The fact that both villages claimed to be more authentic
than the other invites closer scrutiny from researchers, as does the controversy
surrounding the two attacks on the British flag flying over Lady Aberdeen’s display.108
Recent scholarship has also ignored how picture postcards propagated images of
reconstructed Irish stereotypes that contributed to a perceptual shift in Ireland’s reception
abroad. The lack of research on postcards in general demonstrates the existence of a
significant void in current Irish historiography. Aside from John Killen’s study these
items continue to remain outside the remit of Irish historical analysis, a situation all the
more unfortunate considering their pervasiveness in the first few decades of the twentieth
century. Their dissemination of harmless Paddies and beautiful colleens did much to alter
the perception of Irish character, creating a global picture gallery of contrived Irish
identity.

Furthermore, historians have so far neglected to analyse McClinton’s
commodification of the colleen, or the political agenda behind the company’s later
sophisticated advertising campaigns. Scholars have also yet to apply a detailed analysis
of Ulster unionism’s adoption of the colleen as a propaganda emblem. The prevalence of
Irish language banners at the 1892 Ulster Unionist Conference and unionism’s
dependence on iconography from the Gaelic revival for self-definition invites further

108 Ibid., 28 Oct. 1893.
investigation, particularly in light of the fact that many of these tropes originated in the model Irish villages and Irish nationalist cartoons.\(^{109}\)

It is within this spacious and stretching void of historical research that this thesis is positioned. While it builds on existing scholarship it also addresses questions that the current historiography of Irish visual representation does not always answer satisfactorily. The trajectory of its analysis encompasses four thematically arranged sections organised as follows: Chapter two focuses on representations of Paddy in British and American cartoons between 1798 to 1914, highlighting his positive evolution during this period. Chapter three scrutinises the development of mass tourism to Ireland in the years immediately after the plan of campaign. It explores the aims of the Irish Tourist Association and analyses its marketing techniques in promoting Ireland abroad as suitable destination for travellers. A selection of picture postcards will also be examined to discern their contribution in establishing a more positive view of Irish life. In particular the illustrated postcards of John Carey will be reviewed and an argument will be made linking their genesis to the tropes first used in model Irish villages at international exhibitions. The link between tourism and model Irish villages will also be outlined and serves as a bridge to the next section. In chapter four international exhibitions are analysed in the contexts of imperialism and Home Rule. The Irish villages at the 1888 Olympia Irish Exhibition and the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair respectively, form case studies in this segment. A comparative analysis is made of each site and the contents of their art and photographic galleries are also looked at. It is intended to show how these locations led to the formation of new positive Irish stereotypes that contributed to the growth of tourism to Ireland. Chapter five is centred on Ballymaclinton and its display at the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition, London. McClinton’s Soap Company is examined in the context of Irish trade abroad and the firm’s membership of the Irish Industrial Development Association. This organisation’s creation of a corporate Irish identity is investigated along with its attempt to market Irish goods internationally. This section also analyses the political agenda behind Ballymaclinton and shows how its success in popularising Colleen soap as a brand led directly to Ulster unionism’s adoption of this

motif in its propaganda campaign against Home Rule. Chapter Six concludes this thesis with a review of its findings and its initial hypothesis that the synthesis between model Irish villages and picture postcards led to a reconstruction of Irish stereotypes between 1888 and 1914.
Chapter 2

‘Sensible Aestheticism’: the evolution of the stage Irishman, 1798-1914

INTRODUCTION

This chapter traces the visual evolution of the stage Irishman through the interaction of drama, cartoons and illustrated postcards between 1798 and 1914. Commonly known as ‘Paddy’, this character provided the visual archetype for a universal Irish male identity that included both Catholic and Protestant components. By the mid nineteenth-century however, certain political events led to a divergence in representation between the two that was contingent on perceived differences of race and allegiance. This was propagated by satirical weeklies on both sides of the Atlantic, whose cartoons devolved Irish Catholics into simian agitators that contrasted with the handsome appearance of their loyal Protestant compatriots. By 1914 this artistic trend had declined leading to the re-emergence of a universal graphic archetype, drawn from a shared iconographic corpus. Consequently, this chapter analyses the reason for this cessation and shows how the third Home Rule (1912-14) crisis facilitated a merger between Irish masculinity’s constituent parts. Irish female representation is beyond the scope of this chapter and will be dealt with in more depth subsequently.

DEPICTIONS OF ‘PADDY’ 1600-1882

Homi Bhabha defines a stereotype as ‘that particular fixated form of the colonial subject which facilitates colonial relations, and sets up a discursive form of racial and cultural opposition in terms of which colonial power is exercised.’ The objective of this discourse is to establish a fixed reality in order to justify conquest over populations of ‘degenerate types’ on the basis of racial origin or religion.1 Twelfth-century historian, Geraldus Cambrensis, rationalised the Norman invasion of Ireland according to such criteria, likening the nomadic Irish to irreligious beasts with ‘the habits of barbarians’ antithetical to contemporary European civilization.2 His *Topography of Ireland* (1188) later

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2 Geraldus Cambrensis, *The history and topography of Ireland* (London, 1982), pp 101-02; Hiram Morgan, ‘Geraldus Cambrensis and the Tudor conquest of Ireland’ in Hiram Morgan (ed.), *Political ideology in*
influenced Elizabethan visitors to the country, who applied this book’s elevated perspective to their own critiques of Gaelic culture as a means of promoting support for the island’s ongoing subjugation. They condemned the backwardness of native society beyond the areas of traditional English jurisdiction, regarding its members as atavistic and wild, inferior to the established inhabitants of these expanding coastal enclaves. Singled out, especially, was the perceived lack of hygiene amongst the Gaelic population, which commentators attributed to an innate predilection for dirt that debased them further within existing colonial discourse. Writing in 1610 Barnabe Rich complained how the native Irish persisted in their unseemliness rather than adopting the English habit of washing with soap. This purported lack of refinement was illustrated in a series of woodcuts produced for John Derrick’s *The Image of Irlande* (1581), which showed one of the raucous participants at a Gaelic chieftain’s feast publicly defecating within full view of the host’s table. The prevalence of the word ‘wild’ in all these commentaries impacted on the development of Irish stage characters and their initial portrayal as primitive men, similar to the legendary woodwose native to England’s forests.

Captain Macmorris in William Shakespeare’s *Henry V* (1600) is usually regarded as the earliest named stage Irishman and was likely modelled on Old English officers serving in the Elizabethan army. Subsequent seventeenth-century English plays cast Irish characters as footmen, costermongers or chimney sweeps, reflecting the contemporary occupational profile of most Irish immigrants in Stuart England (1603-1707). Generic names for such characters included Paddy and Teague, whose clownish portrayal on stage was deliberately designed to raise laughter from audiences amused by the Hiberno-English dialect (or brogue) and the purported Irish penchant for illogical utterance,
otherwise known as the ‘bull’. By the Restoration, the basic image of the stage Irishman had formed around these traits and the success of such plays as Sir Robert Howard’s *The Committee* (1665) owed much to the comic relief provided by its Irish protagonist. The Teague of this play was an Irish Catholic Royalist who finds service with the gallant Captain Careless and remains steadfastly loyal to his English master. Howard’s drama may have been intended as hopeful metaphor for the future relationship between both kingdoms, but simmering religious tension ensured a lingering suspicion of Irish Catholics that apparently seemed justified when the deposed King James II took refuge in Ireland following the Glorious Revolution of 1688. The army he raised there and its subsequent defeat in the ensuing ‘War of the Three Kings’ (1689-91), led to a theatrical backlash against Catholic identity that manifested itself in the large number of English plays with treacherous Irish rebels and priests of this period.

Counterbalancing these depictions were the dramas of Anglo-Irishman, George Farquhar, whose Catholic characters were portrayed more sympathetically and helped to favourably alter perceptions amongst early eighteenth-century English audiences. Farquhar was also the first playwright to introduce the Anglo-Irish fortune hunter to the London stage, a reoccurring character in many later plays. By the middle of this era the Irish were no longer perceived as a threat to the security of Britain. Catholic Ireland’s quiescence and failure to support the unsuccessful Jacobite rebellion of 1745 precipitated a more sentimental portrayal of the stage-Irishman, who was now depicted as endearing, loyal and even attractive. Cultural historian, Joep Leerssen, contends that this amelioration ‘has no immediate counterpart in Irish representation in other genres, let

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8 R. Welch (ed.), *The Oxford companion to Irish literature*, p. 533. Richard Twiss, *A tour in Ireland in 1775*, (Dublin, 2008) p. 20. Twiss explained the prevalence of certain names thus: ‘Saint Patrick is the patron saint of Ireland ... and in honour of this apostle Paddy is the popular Christian name of the Irish. The name of Teague is likewise very common; it is derived from Thaddeus.’


10 Welch, *The Oxford companion to Irish literature*, p. 534.

11 Bartley, *Teague, Shenkin and Sawney*, p. 109. His plays included *Love and a Bottle* (1698) and *Twin-Rivals* (1702). The latter play is noted for the first use of the term brogue to denote the Irish accent rather than footwear.

alone in non-fictional discourse’ and ‘was influenced to no small degree by Irish rather than English playwrights.’

A further development was a theatrical blending of both Catholic and Protestant Irish identities. Whereas Farquhar had consciously distinguished between the two, later Anglo-Irish playwrights melded them into a social hybrid sharing both Gaelic and Ascendancy qualities. A seminal example of this is Captain O’Blunder from Thomas Sheridan’s *The Brave Irishman* (1738), where the main protagonist was a Gaelic-speaking Protestant army officer, doubly armed with a shillelagh and sword. His fiery temper and pugnacity were reminiscent of earlier native Irish stage characters, yet his ability to move freely among the English upper class indicated his membership of the Anglo-Irish gentry.

Another composite but far more controversial stage-Irishman was Sir Lucius O’Trigger – the blustering protagonist of Richard Sheridan’s farce *The Rivals* (1775). Unlike the Irishman of his father’s play, the younger Sheridan’s creation was not met with universal adulation when first performed. A critical review in the *Morning Chronicle* of 18 January 1775, condemned the character as ‘an affront to the common sense of an audience, and is so far from giving the manners of our brave worthy neighbours, that it scarce equals the picture of a respectable Hottentot.’ Anglo-Irish émigrés in London also objected strongly to the play, calling Sir Lucius a national libel on their country. Criticism hinged on the baronet’s unprovoked challenging of another character to a duel. This inexplicable act of bloodthirstiness caused public outrage, forcing Sheridan to immediately withdraw the play. Sheridan revised the character sufficiently to make Sir Lucius more agreeable to theatregoers. Instead of duelling gratuitously, Sir Lucius now declared he was defending his country’s honour against a

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15 As quoted in Leerssen, *Mere Irish*, p. 163.
perceived insult from ‘a gay captain.’ In a preface to the printed version Sheridan explained his reasons for this alteration:

It is not without pleasure that I catch at an opportunity of justifying myself from the charge of intending any national reflection in the character of Sir Lucius O’Trigger. If any gentlemen opposed the Piece from that idea, I thank them sincerely for their opposition; and if the condemnation of this comedy (however misconceived the provocation) could have added one spark to the decaying flame of national attachment to the country supposed to be reflected on.

Sheridan’s successful revision satisfied his English critics and conclusively established the stage-Irishman’s comic persona. It also assuaged Anglo-Irish opinion because the tone of the play now chimed with the spirit of the Irish Patriot party and its campaign for an independent Irish parliament within the British Empire.

By 1798 this feeling of goodwill had diminished as the political status quo was thrown into disarray. The failure of the United Irishmen’s rebellion and the sectarian atrocities it wrought prompted a negative re-appraisal of Irish Catholic identity. English cartoonists like James Gillray (1757-1815), filled several of their topical drawings with the jutting jaws and flaring nostrils of brutish Irish peasants. Eighteenth-century artists often deployed these tropes when depicting rioters, radicals, and rebels. However, their application to the Irish peasantry was novel in the context of the time and established a precedent that would continue into the next century, whenever militant Irish nationalism captivated public attention.

A Gillray cartoon published at the end of 1798 entitled ‘Horrors of the Irish Union: Botheration of Poor Pat; or, A whisper across the channel’ (Fig. 2.1), shows Britannia reclining under a tree on her bountiful and peaceful island, holding out a contract of Union to a ragged and shoeless Pat standing amidst the chaos and devastation of his ravaged country. A narrow channel of water separates the two and a broken pike lies at Pat’s feet, symbolic of the United Irishman’s failed rebellion. The terms of Britannia’s contract are security of trade and liberty at the cost of the ruined Irishman’s

21 Curtis, Apes and angels, p. 30.
legislative independence. Pat’s inability in managing his own affairs is emphasised by the contrast between the two islands, while his upright posture and pocketed hands are a vain attempt at salvaging dignity in the face of such a generously irresistible offer.

Aside from its political meaning, what is significant about this is the costume worn by Pat. Gillray’s inclusion of a truncated hat, torn jacket and tatty knee breeches set a template for stage Irish apparel that later included cockaded brogue shoes and a tailcoat.²² Sartorially, the stage-Irishman and his graphic counterpart became marooned in the immediate post Napoleonic decades, mirroring the style of real peasants whose living standards had dropped following industrial decline in the south of Ireland.²³ During this period a new stage character appeared purged of all Ascendancy traces; and whose heightened buffoonery entertained English audiences attending the productions of an increasingly racist genre known as Irish drama.²⁴

In contemporary Britain Irish Catholic identity continued to depreciate in connection with press reports about agrarian unrest in Ireland, which in parts had slipped into a state of ‘smothered war’ where landlords barricaded themselves in houses besieged by disgruntled tenants.²⁵ Some British papers attempted to explain these outrages in terms of the Irish penchant for violence, without acknowledging how the collapse of the Irish grain market had forced many proprietors to evict renters in a bid to convert their estates into dairy farms.²⁶ Members of Daniel O’Connell’s Repeal Association argued that the peasantry were merely reacting against the policies of unscrupulous landlords, a view which The Times contested: ‘The Irish have, in a great measure themselves to thank for their poverty and want of capital … It is by industry, toil, perseverance, economy, prudence, by self-denial, and self-dependence, that a state becomes mighty and its people happy.’²⁷ Another critic of supposed Irish lassitude was the travel writer, James Page, who disparaged the peasantry for living ‘in the midst of filth and wretchedness almost

²² Duggan, The stage Irishman, p. 289.
²³ Mairead Dunlevy, Dress in Ireland: a history (Dublin, 1989), pp 141-42. (Hereafter: Dunleavy, Dress in Ireland).
²⁴ Welch, The Oxford companion to Irish literature, p. 534.
²⁷ The Times, 4 Aug. 1843.
exceeding what the greatest stretch of an Englishman’s imagination can conceive.\textsuperscript{28} The alleged Irish love of muck and apparent contentment to live in penury were seen as clear indications of the Catholic population’s uncivilised condition and chronic inability to raise itself from distress.

Increasing Irish emigration to Britain only served to reinforce traditional stereotypes.\textsuperscript{29} It is estimated that Irish-born residents in 1841 numbered 400,000. By 1860 it peaked at 806,000, declining to a figure of 632,000 in 1901. A culture of emigration from Ireland was already in place during the 1830s when British employers recruited agricultural harvesters, railway navvies and factory workers on short-term contracts. Cheaper steam navigation also facilitated this migrant flow, which was mainly directed at the industrial regions of Scotland, Lancashire and Yorkshire.\textsuperscript{30} The gradual appearance of ‘Little Irelands’ in the slums of cities like Manchester drew derisory comments from social reformer James Kay, who regarded the influx as corrupting to the English working class:

> The rapid growth of the cotton manufacture has attracted hither operatives from every part of the kingdom, and Ireland has poured forth the most destitute of her hordes to supply the constantly increasing demand for labour … The paucity of the amount of means and comforts necessary for the mere support of life, is not known by a more civilised population, and this secret has been taught the labourers of this country by the Irish.\textsuperscript{31}

Writers like Thomas Carlyle and Frederick Engels shared similar views and were critical when Irish immigrants drove down the wages of both English and Scottish labourers.\textsuperscript{32} These ‘Little Irelands’ also earned a reputation for alcoholism and violence where immigrants were frequently concentrated in mixed Catholic and Protestant settlements.\textsuperscript{33}

\textsuperscript{29} de Nie, \textit{The eternal Paddy}, pp 17-19.
\textsuperscript{31} James Kay, \textit{The moral and physical condition of the working classes employed in the cotton manufacture in Manchester} (1832), pp 20-21, in Roger Swift (ed.), \textit{Irish migrants in Britain, 1815-1914: a documentary history} (Cork, 2002), p. 36. (Hereafter: Swift, \textit{Irish migrants in Britain}).
\textsuperscript{32} See Thomas Carlyle, \textit{Chartism} (1839), pp 181-83; and Frederick Engels, \textit{The condition of the working class in England} (1844), pp 122-25.
In 1836 Mr Barrett, superintendent of Stockport police, described in a parliamentary report the brutality his force regularly encountered in one district: ‘They fight with weapons, as fire pokers, pieces of iron, or shillelagoths, and rarely with fists. Frequently on these occasions they stab one another: these fights are principally among the Irish of different parties, and not so often between English and Irish.’34 However, not all Irish ghettos displayed equal turbulence. Disturbed neighbourhoods in Bradford, Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester contrasted with the relative peacefulness of other Irish areas in Dundee, Hull and Bristol, where relations with host communities remained amicable throughout the nineteenth century.35

The advent of the Great Famine (1845-1850) resulted in unprecedented Irish emigration to Britain, as masses of the starving poor fled across the Irish Sea, overwhelming port cities like Liverpool and aggravating the endemic presence of typhus in congested urban slums. A nationwide outbreak in 1847 was popularly deemed an Irish import, with the home secretary announcing that Famine refugees comprised the majority of all fever hospital patients.36 Irish immigrants now gained a reputation as vectors of killer diseases, inciting enmity amongst the host population.37 Outraged newspapers like The Times called for an enforced stop to all Irish paupers moving inland.38 Some of the destitute needed to meet family and friends, others hoped to get work. Ragged groups of famished Irish became a familiar sight on rural roads. Locals occasionally gave charity to help some reach their destinations, while a notable number survived on the poor law.39 In their new localities immigrants sometimes encountered religious bigotry, leading to incidents like the Stockport riots in 1852.40 In Scotland competition for jobs from cheap Irish labour and resentment about the rapid growth of shantytowns also inflamed sectarianism, precipitating in clashes between immigrants and Scots infused with a

34 The report on the state of the Irish poor in Great Britain, parliamentary papers XXXIV (1836), xx-xxiii, in Swift, Irish migrants in Britain, p. 103.
35 Davis, ‘The Irish in Britain, 1815-1939,’ p. 27.
37 Davis, The Irish in Britain, 1815-1939,’ p. 28.
38 The Times, 4 May 1847.
39 Neal, Black ‘47, p. 177.
40 Davis, The Irish in Britain, 1815-1939,’ p. 28.
resurgent evangelicalism following the reconstitution of the Catholic hierarchy in Britain after 1850.\textsuperscript{41} By the mid-1860s, an emerging scientific consensus placed Irish Catholics between Negroes and the anthropoid apes.\textsuperscript{42} Prominent British anthropologists like Daniel Mackintosh opined that particular attitudes and behaviours were connected with certain physiological characteristics that manifested themselves as marks of racial distinctiveness.\textsuperscript{43} As a community Irish Catholics were deemed to possess ‘Celtic’ traits such as small robust frames and protrusive eyebrow ridges, all assumed to reveal an irrational personality.\textsuperscript{44} In addition, a supposed prevalence of prognathism (protruding jaws) amongst its members explained the primitive nature of Irish civilisation. The scientific establishment’s application of Darwinian Theory to ethnic groups resulted in a taxonomy positioning Irish Catholics near its bottom that also had its basis in Peter Mayhew’s 1850 anthropological study of London’s poor. Mayhew placed Irish immigrants at the lowest level of his classification, which concluded that its subjects displayed ‘greater development of the animal than of the intellectual or moral nature.’\textsuperscript{45} Accordingly, many of the governing class believed that Irish inferiority was biologically fixed and beyond the help of progressive English administrators.\textsuperscript{46} The satirical press reflected this view, filling its cartoons with a proliferation of Irish simians bent on havoc against the British state.

The most famous exponent of this new form of caricature was Sir John Tenniel (1820-1914), whose cartoons for \textit{Punch} provide the best examples of Irish physical regression. Originally this periodical’s ridicule of Irish subjects was confined to themes of fecklessness, intoxication and complacency. However, a change in depiction occurred


\textsuperscript{42} Curtis, \textit{Apes and angels}, p. 107.


\textsuperscript{46} Curtis, \textit{Apes and angels}, p. 95.
in the 1860s, coinciding with bourgeois concerns over growing Fenian militancy in both Ireland and Britain. Although this revolutionary organisation’s actions were mostly contained, they nevertheless generated sufficient public panic for the Daily Telegraph to draw a pessimistic medical analogy on the health of the Union: ‘Ireland is inflicted with an incurable disease, and that though we may use the strait-waistcoat for her mad fits, we can have no certain hope of seeing her one day clothed and in her right mind.’

The failure of the 1867 rebellion in Ireland and the dynamiting of Clerkenwell prison by Fenians that same year, prompted Tenniel to produce ‘Fenian Guy Fawkes’ (Fig. 2.2), published in Punch on 28 December 1867. In this cartoon a Fenian dynamiter sits legs spread on a gunpowder keg he has just lit with a torch he is brandishing, almost like a shillelagh. Dressed in tattered old-fashioned clothes, he holsters a handgun, which adds more menace to a snarling stage-Irish figure, whose audience consists of curious children and an indifferent breast-feeding mother cradling her child on a doorstep in the background. The cartoon’s street location and large family of children suggest that the conspiracy emanates from Irish ghettoes in British cities, where many arrests had been made following Fenian outrages.

In ‘A Hint to The Loyal Irish’ (Fig. 2.3), from 1868, Tenniel changes perspective and deals with the Fenian threat from the loyalist point of view. John Bull is dressed as a policeman armed with a truncheon. A stockpile of other weapons lie at his feet, which he is distributing to men wearing slightly less modern clothes and eager to show their loyalty by answering the public request – posted as a bill on a wall in the background – for special constables to combat Fenianism. A base caption explains that the lead Irishman is informing Bull that hundreds more are willing to join. Bull’s uniform is that of a British policeman rather than that of the Royal Irish Constabulary, indicating that this scene is taking place somewhere in Britain. Tenniel’s high facial framing and firm jawed portrayal of these unionists contrasted with his depiction of Irish agitators, who, as LP Curtis has remarked, looked like a cross between ‘a garrotter and a gorilla.’

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48 As quoted in de Nie, The eternal Paddy, p. 4.
49 Ibid.
50 Curtis, Apes and angels, p. 31.
During the land war (1879-82), Ulster’s Protestant population remained loyal to the British government despite some initial support from Orangemen for the Land League’s campaign to reduce rents and obtain security of tenure. The decision of this small populist wing to meet League founder and former Fenian, Michael Davitt, alarmed the Grand Lodge of Ireland, which withdrew the warrants of two lodges in Fermanagh and issued final warnings to others.51 As the violence in the south against Protestant landlords – some of whom were Orangemen – escalated those in the higher echelons of the Order resolved to resist the League through the formation of an emergency committee in October 1880. An accompanying press statement condemned the League for having ‘the ulterior purpose of uprooting and extinguishing Protestantism, and with it civil and religious liberties.’ It called on all brethren to ‘range themselves on the side of law and order, and to defeat the efforts of foreign anarchists and domestic traitors.’52 The Land League refuted these charges, declaring its aim was to combat landlords rack-renting their tenants on estates where harvests had failed because of unseasonably bad weather. In western areas the prospect of eviction spurred many tenant farmers to join this agrarian movement, which Home Rule party leader Charles Stuart Parnell (1846-1891) had become president of in 1879.53

Although the League discouraged violence, agrarian outrages grew widely from 863 incidents in 1879 to 2,590 in 1880.54 One commentator wrote that in several remote districts, ‘plans for the shooting of … twenty landlords at one stroke on the commencement of evictions were hatched, and many who afterwards took an active part in the agitation were indisposed to waste any time in a purely peaceful and legal movement.’55 British newspapers, like The Graphic, reported on the escalating brutality, which claimed an eighty-three year old woman and her two daughters at the hands of a masked gang of ‘moonlighters’ near Mullingar, Co. Westmeath. Several locals were soon

51 Kevin Haddick-Flynn, Orangeism: the making of a tradition (Dublin, 1999), pp 290-91. (Hereafter: Haddick-Flynn, Orangeism).
arrested prompting traditional stereotypes of hostile peasants to dominate British perceptions of the Irish land question.\textsuperscript{56} The \textit{Manchester Courier} blamed the peasantry for Ireland’s descent into lawlessness, stating that they were barely beyond ‘a state of absolute barbarism’; their civilisation at best ‘but skin deep.’\textsuperscript{57} Prime Minister William Gladstone (1809-98) vowed to mobilise the resources of British civic and political culture to pacify Ireland and restore it to order.\textsuperscript{58} The Orange Order’s emergency committee now tasked its men to issue writs against tenants in arrears and arranged for purchasing agents to attend auctions where confiscated cattle were being sold. It also employed armed caretakers, usually retired policemen or ex-soldiers, to occupy vacant farms and protect threatened proprietors who remained on in their holdings.\textsuperscript{59} The perception that rural Irish society was inescapably primitive was compounded by the standardisation of Greenwich Mean Time across the island of Great Britain in 1880.\textsuperscript{60} Ireland’s exclusion and chronological setting twenty-five minutes behind its sister island legally enshrined the country’s place as an anachronistic region outside the flow of regular British time, inciting a general trend in British cartoons that turned Paddy more thoroughly aboriginal.

In ‘The Irish Frankenstein’ (Fig. 2.4) from an 1882 edition of \textit{Punch}, Tenniel reinterprets the monster from Mary Shelley’s tale, showing it as the grotesque killer of the incoming Irish chief secretary, Lord Frederick Cavendish, and his deputy, Thomas Burke. On 6 May 1882 a Fenian splinter group had murdered both men with knives in the Phoenix Park; an act widely condemned by many leading nationalists, including Parnell.\textsuperscript{61} In this image a grotesque masked hybrid of man and ape looms large over a cowering Parnell, terrified of how villainous his creation has become. Clutching a dripping dagger to his chest, the monster glowers contemptuously at his maker as he advances above a death notice signed in Captain Moonlight’s name. A bag of gunpowder and other paraphernalia hang from his belt signifying that his gun is obsolete and hence,
it is implied, the property of a peasant caught up in the rural agitation orchestrated by the Land League.

L.P. Curtis’s reliance on racial prejudice as the key to the negative representation of nineteenth-century Irish immigrants has been challenged by Roy Foster. Foster has argued that class and religion, rather than race, were central to British cartoonists’ construction of a simian identity for them, entirely consistent with representations of English plebeians.62 Curtis has countered this, stating that working-class English Catholics never suffered the same level of simianisation that Irish immigrants underwent in British cartoons, and that in general, only violent criminals and revolutionaries were illustrated as apes. Frequently regarded as both, Irish-Catholics were thus singled out for special attention and transformed to resemble humanity’s ancestors in a manner that conveyed their danger to law and order. Curtis’s argument is strengthened by his analysis of images from nineteenth-century American magazines, which show the same physiognomic assumptions prevalent in contemporary British caricature, a fact partially explained by the emigration of many prominent British cartoonists to the United States during the 1860s.63 Their influence on American caricature facilitated a reproduction of tropes usually directed against Irish immigrants in Britain and further validates Curtis’s hypothesis that race lay at the heart of such visual satire, including that aimed at Irish-Americans.

Not all contemporary illustrated British periodicals portrayed the aggrieved Irish peasantry in such a way. Bourgeois pictorial newspapers like the Illustrated London News and The Graphic provided an alternative depiction of Irish peasants that diverged significantly from the primates inhabiting other publications. Chief artist for the former was Irishman Aloysius O’Kelly whose images revealed sympathy for his aggrieved compatriots, later republished in several French newspapers 64 Similarly the anonymous artists working for The Graphic claimed their depictions were accurate, although occasionally the periodical rendered fanciful scenes of Irish life, relying on stage-Irish conventions to enliven its imagery.65

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62 Foster, Paddy and Mr. Punch, pp 180-93.
63 Curtis, Apes and angels, pp 10-120.
65 Curtis, Apes and angels, p. 87.
In 1879 it published an illustrated narrative entitled ‘The Agitation in Ireland’ (Fig. 2.5) purporting to show what normally occurred at a rural Home Rule party branch before a visit from leadership contender, Charles Stuart Parnell, during the void between Isaac Butt’s death and his own victory over the more moderate William Shaw. The four-frame narrative cuts from left to right then down the page to the largest panel displaying a climatic finale to the story happening in the three smaller tiles above it. Sardonic captions supplement this, subtly indicating the artist’s political leanings in a humorous way that may not have been apparent to all Graphic readers relying on the newspaper for an accurate portrait of international events. The sequence starts with a man calling for Parnell’s expulsion from the party, only to be beaten by a fashionably dressed mob of middle-class supporters intolerant of any criticism of him. The accompanying text wryly states in stage-Irish brogue ‘that Home Rule didn’t mane Freedom of opinion’, belying the artist’s political leanings, which are further indicated in the outbreak of violence amongst the crowd and its implication that all such meetings typically ended like this. The initials ‘V.R.’ are inked to the side of this commotion, giving a clue to the artist’s identity in a paper otherwise known for its anonymous images. The fourth and final frame takes up the story later on in the day, when an unseen Parnell arrives in a horse drawn carriage to a rapturous reception, consisting entirely of his followers raising their shillelaghs in acclaim to him. Some of the peasants in the foreground are dressed in stage Irish attire, but without the simian features often deployed. The general caption underneath states that the incidents depicted were based on field-notes the artist took in Ireland. A lack of dates and location cannot help to test the authenticity of this statement, leading to the possibility that ‘V.R.’ gave an artistic interpretation of something he never witnessed. This would seem likely, considering his inclusion of stage Irish iconography and a melee originating out of opposing political opinions between members of the same movement; significantly, in this case, Home Rulers, most of whom were Catholic. The tacit implication here is that Ireland would be dysfunctional under the rule of fanatics intolerant of any dissenting faction, including those in their own party. The inevitable outcome is an eruption of violence that entertains the viewer by playing up to the

66 Morton, Home Rule, p. 23.
brawling Irish stereotype, while simultaneously claiming to be truthful by virtue of the
Graphic’s supposed accuracy in portraying news stories.

The Dublin based nationalist press produced depictions of Irish peasants to
counter those found elsewhere. Working originally for Pat magazine before moving to
the Weekly Freeman, artist, John F. O’Hea (Spex), drew his Paddy as a good-looking
prosperous tenant farmer who – like him – supported Home Rule. His cartoons were
aimed mainly at an urban readership made up of the professional and propertied Irish
Catholic classes, who respected the emerging rural small property owners.67 Photographs
from the 1890s onwards show men of this latter group, wearing trousers instead of knee
breeches. After 1870 every male down to the poorest labourer wore boots to Sunday
mass, as the increasing availability of cheap manufactured textiles and clothing imported
from industrialised British cities spread middle-class fashion.68 Some people living in
remote districts like Connemara took longer to swap traditional for contemporary styles,
wearing practical garments that slowly changed with infrastructural development, which
linked them directly with the shops of rural towns.69 Clothes were a very effective form
of social display because they served as a visible character reference that could otherwise
not be obtained.70

Graphic Paddy’s social rise from peasant to respectable farmer is emphasised in
‘Sensible Aestheticism’ (Fig. 2.6) published in an 1881 issue of Pat magazine. In this
image, a pretty colleen wearing a hooded cloak stands admired by Paddy sitting below
her in the new suit the unknown cartoonist has given him. Paddy’s wardrobe is that of a
generic early Regency (1811-1820) Irish country gentleman, closer in time to the critical
audience of Sir Lucius O’Trigger than the urban bourgeois readers of Pat magazine. That
year’s land act had led to optimism among some Irish nationalists, who believed it to be
the first step in Ireland’s material improvement. These sentiments are expressed in the
cartoon’s caption, which declares: ‘Now that we are re-establishing our factories, why not
also revive our national costumes? They were graceful and elegant, and would offer a

67 Curtis, Apes and angels, pp 68-69.
68 Dunlevy, Dress in Ireland, p. 166; Liam Kennedy, ‘Retail markets in rural Ireland at the end of the
nineteenth century’ in Irish Economic and Social History, 5 (1978), pp 46-63.
69 Dunlevy, Dress in Ireland, p. 163.
70 Paul Johnston, ‘Conspicuous consumption and working-class culture in late Victorian and Edwardian
beautiful contrast to the imported and hideous garments worn at present by our peasantry. The sketch represents the costume of an Irish farmer and his wife not many years ago.\textsuperscript{71}

The reference to national costume suggests that Paddy’s stage-Irish wardrobe has, at this point, become an accepted archetype for Irish male identity, which cartoonists in nationalist newspapers and periodicals deliberately made fetching to counter the ragged simian depictions found in contemporary British cartoons. The other reference to the peasantry’s ‘imported and hideous garments’ indicates that Pat’s editorial policy backs the protection of nascent Irish home industries against foreign competition. A further revealing clue is the tranquil Irish countryside both Paddy and the colleen inhabit. Its depiction conformed to the reformers’ idealised image of a rural Irish community that the magazine suggests existed in a prosperous past. The reference to imports may imply the period of the Napoleonic wars (1800-15), when Britain’s isolation from its continental markets because of French blockading, precipitated in a demand for Irish goods that resulted in a brief growth for the country’s economy.\textsuperscript{72}

The Land League’s effectiveness in organising collective opposition to the payment of rent and the prevention of new leaseholders occupying forcibly vacated farms consolidated the link between tenant farmers and the rest of the social order, culminating in a declaration of nationalist solidarity against British rule in Ireland. The movement’s direct confrontation with the forces of law and order contributed to a sense of vicarious warfare against British rule itself that appealed to the Fenian elements within the organisation. However, the more obvious it became that Fenians were entering the movement, the more crucial from the Catholic Church’s perspective that the clergy should also be involved. The spectre of revolutionary republicanism – a problem for the church in its wider European context over the preceding century – haunted its relationship to Irish nationalism, compelling the leaders of the League to reassure the clergy of their commitment to constitutional political action.\textsuperscript{73} The League’s fusion of social activism and nationalism in its rural agitation gradually helped reduce the Catholic hierarchy’s hostility to popular nationalism. Once the clergy were involved in sizeable

\textsuperscript{71} Pat, 8 Oct. 1881.
\textsuperscript{73} Philip Bull, *Land, politics and nationalism: a study of the Irish land question*, pp 82-84. (Hereafter: Bull, *Land, politics and nationalism*).
numbers, it became difficult for the government and police to secure public support for their coercive measures. Nevertheless, the class divisions of this popular movement (involving rural bourgeoisie, middle and poor peasantry and agricultural proletariat) ultimately proved debilitating and were reinforced by profound political differences between the various groups. The Fenians had supported the objective of peasant proprietorship as a means to national independence, assuming that once the peasantry were mobilised they would meet with uncompromising resistance from the British government, rather than the partial reform of the 1881 land act which largely satisfied the Land League’s political objective of limiting or ending the existing system of land ownership. Parnell on the other hand, had aspired to satisfy the tenantry on terms palatable to the landlords, hoping that this would open the way for landlord compliance in the burgeoning nationalist venture.

In the end however, widespread landlord support for Irish nationalism did not materialise. Instead an Irish nation composed mainly of the Catholic population of the island developed into a self-conscious entity between 1878 and 1886. Its religious hue was confirmed in 1884-85 when the Catholic hierarchy concluded a concordant with the Nationalist party, which asserted that it would defend Catholic educational interests in return for the Church’s recognition of its claim to political legitimacy. Critics regarded this new nationalism as increasingly exclusive, introspective and intolerant because of its failure to attract the allegiance of Protestant tenant farmers, whose socio-economic circumstances most closely resembled those out of which Irish nationalism arose among Catholics. Within the political movement itself two opposing concepts of its aims existed coevally. The first accepted Parnell’s objective of seeking reconciliation with southern unionists and landlords as the best route to Irish self-government. The other model, the radical agrarian, dismissed this notion, alternatively emphasizing the need for

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75 Morton, Home rule, p. 27; Devoy, The land of Eire, pp 26-54; Comerford, ‘The land war and the politics of distress’, p. 33; The 1881 Land Act legalised the Ulster custom across Ireland. Tenants on rural estates were now guaranteed the three Fs (fair rent, free sale and fixity of tenure) under a new law.
77 David W. Miller, Queen’s rebels (Dublin, 1978), pp 79-80. (Hereafter: Miller, Queen’s rebels).
renewed struggle against the traditional opponents of Home Rule. By the early twentieth century, the emergence of independent nationalist bodies prompted the Irish Parliamentary Party to co-opt dissidents into its ranks as a means of maintaining its dominance. This strategy was successfully used in the case of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, which became a vehicle for providing the party with a political base in Ulster that mobilised a large proportion of its Catholic population into supporting Home Rule. Leading nationalist politicians, including John Dillon, joined the organisation, boosting its representation at nationalist conventions from 24 out of a total of 3000 delegates in 1903 to 417 in 1909. Its exclusively Catholic membership alarmed one nationalist M.P., who wrote to Redmond in August 1907 warning him that such sectarianism was anathema to the Home Rule party’s policy ‘of uniting all creeds and classes of Irishmen’ and would inevitably lead to discord amongst its rank-and-file in Ulster. This transpired in east Tyrone, where doctrinal differences between Fenians and Hibernians led to rancour within the local nationalist movement that would persist for several decades.

IRISH-AMERICA

The deep foundations of the Irish-American diaspora had been laid long before the Famine, which merely served to accelerate the process of outward migration. This emigrant stream was overwhelmingly Protestant and broadly representative of its entire social spectrum. The first US federal census of 1790 reported 44,000 people of Irish birth with an estimated 150,000 claiming Irish descent. Concurrent with this was the appearance of the first stage Irishman in the American theatre as a roving solider called Darby, who returns to Ireland bragging about his time in Washington’s army. This character belonged to an emigrant stream hailing primarily from Ulster and who arrived

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78 Bew, Conflict and conciliation, pp 6-7.
80 Boyce, Nationalism in Ireland, pp 275-76. The AOH owed its success to the work of an Ulster member of the Irish parliamentary party: Joseph Devlin.
82 McCluskey, ‘Fenians, Ribbonmen etc’, pp 70-71.
in the American ports under frequent suspicion from locals. Some colonial Americans regarded them as ‘uncleanly, unwholesome, and disgusting.’ Others believed these Irish ‘capable of the highest villainies’, with one observer judging them ‘the very scum of mankind.’ By 1750 this group had largely settled along the Cumberland valley, pushing south to Virginia, populating the vanguard of frontier. In 1800 an English farmer visiting the fledgling Republic wrote: ‘None emigrate … beyond the mountains, except … savage backwoodsmen, chiefly of Irish descent … a race possessing all the vices of civilised and savage life, without the virtues of either … the outcasts of the world, and the disgrace of it. They are to be met with, on the western frontiers, from Pennsylvania inclusive, to the furthest south.’ For this reason they were given the epithet ‘wild Irish’ and gained a reputation as guerrillas during the American Revolution (1775-81). Afterwards they generated new opportunities for social advancement, creating a distinctive presence in American culture without any barriers to integration. The Orange Order was founded in the 1820s and paraded annually in New York and other cities. There was limited violence between the marchers and their Catholic opponents until the influx of Famine refugees after 1845.

Between this date and 1870 a further 2.5 million Irish people emigrated to the United States. Most migrants were poor unskilled labourers who made up seventy to ninety per cent of all those leaving Ireland during the early 1850s. Unlike their predecessors, they were reluctant to move inland due to both a lack of capital and a refusal to abandon kinship ties more easily maintained in urban slums and shantytowns. In 1844 riots between Catholic Irish and American street gangs erupted in Philadelphia,

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86 Patrick Griffin, The people with no name: Ireland’s Ulster Scots, America’s Scots-Irish, and the creation of a British Atlantic world, 1689-1764 (Princeton 2001), pp 102-03.
91 See the Nineteenth general report of the colonial land and emigration commissioners, HC 1859 (2555), xiv.
convulsing its suburbs for days.\textsuperscript{92} Throughout the century reports of brawls with police in other cities were frequently published.\textsuperscript{93} An increasingly hostile Anglo-American public perceived Irish immigrants as practitioners of an aggressive Catholicism ‘directed toward the subversion of America’s civil and religious liberties’.\textsuperscript{94} Inter communal relations were further strained when the New York Catholic clergy launched an unsuccessful attempt to secure state funding for urban parochial schools.\textsuperscript{95} Anti-immigrant movements soon emerged calling for a halt to the influx. The ‘Know Nothing’ party of the 1850s campaigned to stall the citizenship process and to remove Irish immigrants from the rolls of qualified voters. It also demanded restricted Irish immigration and the retention of government in the hands of Anglo-Americans.\textsuperscript{96} Despite widespread anti-Irish prejudice in antebellum American society, this movement failed to rally mass support. Richard Jensen contends that most Americans considered their equal-rights republicanism incompatible with systematic anti-Irish economic and political discrimination.\textsuperscript{97} However the popular view that Irish immigrants were incapable of full assimilation prevailed, a theme reflected in the large number of contemporary American cartoons that made them the ongoing target of racist satire.

During the 1860s several of England’s best cartoonists emigrated to America, lured there by the prospect of bigger wages and financial security.\textsuperscript{98} This in turn influenced the direction of American caricature as artists adopted British techniques in their work. In 1870 \textit{Punch} started a sister American publication, \textit{Punchinello}, which featured cartoons alluding to Irish stupidity. It folded within a year, displaced by \textit{Harper’s Weekly}, a New York based satirical magazine with a much wider circulation. Many of its cartoons simianised Irish immigrants while attacking their attachment to the Democrat party. In particular Thomas Nast’s (1840-1902) cartoons were extremely effective in articulating official concern about the growing political power the Irish had

\textsuperscript{92} Noel Ignatiev, \textit{How the Irish became white} (Philadelphia, 1995), pp 87-157
\textsuperscript{93} \textit{The Brooklyn Daily Eagle}, 22 Jan. 1873. (Hereafter: \textit{Brooklyn Eagle}).
\textsuperscript{95} Hasia Diner, “‘The most Irish city in the Union’: the era of the great migration, 1884-1877” in Ronald H. Bayor and Timothy J. Meagher (eds), \textit{The New York Irish} (Baltimore, London, 1997), p. 95.
\textsuperscript{98} Curtis, \textit{Apes and angels}, p. 28.
acquired in the decades since the Famine. His style was propelled by the physiognomic assumptions prevalent in contemporary British caricature, with a range of simian Irishmen appearing in his illustrations.

One of his most famous images is ‘St. Patrick’s Day, 1867: The Day We Celebrate’ (Fig. 2.7) published in an April edition of that year’s Harper's Weekly. It shows a street brawl between Irish immigrants and an outnumbered New York police force, being mercilessly pummelled under a hail of bricks and bats. Their attackers wear the sashes of some Irish-American fraternal organisation (possibly the Ancient Order of Hibernians) and appear to revel in the violence around them.\(^9\) Their simian faces reveal the innate savagery of the Irish character. In the right background an unseen marcher carries a pike, while a liquor bottle swings precariously from the pocket of an assailant nearest the viewer. The tableau is framed with the words ‘Rum’ and ‘Blood’ in its respective lower corners, highlighting the cause and effect of such anarchy. Nast based his cartoon on an affray at a local parade, which the Brooklyn Daily Eagle also condemned in a scathing article:

The disgraceful riot between those who took part in the celebration of St. Patrick’s day in New York, and the police, sadly mars the otherwise pleasing recollection of an anniversary celebrated with great enthusiasm by the exiled children of Ireland … There is no good reason why any class should be allowed to stop the outdoor business of a great city for hours together, and if such public displays cannot be confined to the lesser thoroughfares, they had better be prohibited altogether.\(^1\)

From the 1850s onwards the annual St. Patrick’s Day parade became a major celebration for Irish-Americans. In New York marchers grew from 1,500 in 1849 to over 40,000 by 1870. Originally a collection of militia units, benevolent societies and Catholic organizations, its composition changed with the new immigration, as it transformed into nationalist display dominated by the Ancient Order of Hibernians; their bands and banners showing dead rebels framed by Celtic iconography. These parades were also a formidable exhibition of Irish-American unity in the face of opposition from a country whose flag was conspicuously visible amongst marchers demanding fair treatment for

\(^9\) This was the largest Irish-American benevolent society, established in New York in 1836. It had 100 thousand members by 1900. It was Catholic and broadly nationalist.

\(^1\) Brooklyn Eagle, 19 Mar. 1867.
immigrants.\textsuperscript{101} Some of the anti-Irish press expressed misgivings about such parades, equating the violence in Brooklyn with typical Irish behaviour that had dangerously manifested itself once too often before being punished: ‘The memory of the riots of 1863 is not so effaced that the actors in such [similar] scenes can hope to escape with entire impunity.’\textsuperscript{102}

At the outset of the new immigration American playwright, James Pilgrim, had written a farce, \textit{Irish Assurance and Yankee Modesty} (1853) that promoted the optimistic message of Irish-Catholic assimilation through the marriage of its two main characters: Irish Pat and Yankee Nancy. In 1822 another American play was publicly withdrawn under the charge of ‘burlesquing the Irish character’, then mainly a Protestant component in the population. By the 1840s Catholic immigration had overwhelmed this block to co-opt Irish-American identity solely for itself. Irish-American Protestants reluctantly adopted ‘Scots-Irish’ as a new sobriquet to disassociate themselves from their Catholic compatriots. During the late 1860s, annual Orange parades in New York came under increasing attack. Clashes escalated to such a degree that armed soldiers escorted the 1871 parade through streets of hostile crowds, from which shots were fired, killing a sergeant before being dispersed by repeated infantry fire.\textsuperscript{103} In total sixty people died while another hundred were badly wounded – a casualty list \textit{Scribner’s Monthly} greatly approved of: ‘the great masses engaged in the late riot were as ignorant as horses. They did not know enough to know that the Orangeman were intellectually and morally their superiors.’ The article concluded that Irish Catholics were incapable of toleration and would remain troublesome for American society indefinitely.\textsuperscript{104}

In 1871 \textit{The Irish World}, an immigrant nationalist newspaper, published what further research may prove to be the only cartoon known to openly simianise its Irish Protestant subjects. Its title, ‘Grand Turnout of the Apes and Orang-outangs’ (Fig. 2.8), refers to that year’s twelfth of July parade in New York city. A band representing the anti-Irish Catholic press march in front of a simian group of Orangemen holding banners


\textsuperscript{102} \textit{Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper}, 6 Apr. 1867.

\textsuperscript{103} \textit{Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Paper}, 29 Jul.1871; Kevin Kenny, ‘Race, violence and anti-Irish sentiment in the nineteenth century’ in Lee and Casey, \textit{Making the Irish American}, p. 372.

of satirised sectarian organisations, like the American Protective Association, whose members are mocked as ‘Darwin’s connecting link’ to the primates. The cartoonist’s inclusion of a trombonist from Harper’s Magazine may refer to its employee, Thomas Nast’s effective anti-Irish cartoons and their influence on American public opinion. Its readers were middle-class Anglo-Protestants, who found their images of simian Irishmen culturally useful because they helped to affirm the ‘values and status of the primary audience by creating a comedic contrast between accepted norms and the abnormal.’ Compared to Nast however, this unidentified artist is an inferior draftsman and his simian Irishmen are only truly identifiable from their prehensile feet, which grip the neighbourhood cobblestones they move over. The reference to ‘animals without a country’ on one of the banners suggests that the Orangemen are in denial of their Irish identity and behave like ignorant beasts towards Catholic immigrants. What is important in this cartoon is that the appearance of the Orangemen has been removed to an evolutionary point in time slightly before Nast’s rampaging simians, thus widening the gulf between past and present, Protestant and Catholic.

Writing in 1907, nationalist Robert Lynd stated that a shared sectarian joke in Ulster was that a person’s religion could be inferred from a particular shaped face. Lynd himself failed to see any difference, but mockingly suggested that ‘the Catholic [had] a deeper, more sensitive and religious eye, while the Protestant [looked] at once more rugged and better fed, [with] an eye more accustomed to size up material things in spite of all his semi-religious idealism.’

During the tension of the first two Home Rule Crises (1886-92) racist language had been used in a range of popular Ulster newspapers, equating devolution with a war of ‘race and religion’ that would launch the savage Celts against the northern outpost of Anglo-Saxon civilization. Since the land war the province had been popularly considered a British enclave bordering the South’s endemic chaos. Most contemporary travellers to Ulster were struck by its ‘English’ appearance – a legacy of plantation and industrialisation that had ordered the natural landscape, strengthening

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the belief amongst some that Catholics were an inferior strain of aboriginal Irish.\textsuperscript{107} In 1893 one unionist writer celebrated parliament’s rejection of that year’s Home Rule bill as a victory for evolution:

> Every political principle is relative to the condition of the people to be governed. The more advanced the civilisation and culture attained, the more advanced and the more democratic must the form of government become … Nationalist Ireland is a Catholic country. England is a Protestant country, and Protestantism means an advance in the direction of independence, self-reliance and self-government … To give Home Rule to Ireland before giving it to England is to ignore the principle of evolution, and put the cart before the horse.\textsuperscript{108}

Another later commentator demanded that Englishmen support Ulster’s plight for the same logical reason: ‘No doubt the southern race is numerically greater than the northern. The race however, that produced Lord Lawrence, the saviour of India, Earl Cairns, the greatest judge of the nineteenth century, Lord Kelvin, the uncrowned king of science since Darwin, is not one to be jeered or despised.’\textsuperscript{109} According to Lynd such people were deaf to the music of their landscape, preferring anti-Home Rule rhetoric instead, while slavishly singing ‘God Save the King’ in the hope of winning government protection. Even those with Gaelic surnames reportedly denied having an Irish heritage with an assertion akin to Peter’s denial of Jesus, perplexing him all the more, a man of Ulster planter stock.\textsuperscript{110}

Not all Ulster Protestants however, denied being Irish. William McMordie, a former Presbyterian moderator, was one: ‘Unionists are Irishmen too. We love our country and work for its good. We do not wish to be separated from our fellow countrymen.’\textsuperscript{111} Most Ulster Protestants regarded themselves so and like many contemporary Scots and Welshmen, did not use this ethnic identity as a reason for political separation from England. For them being Irish was fully compatible with continued citizenship of the British state. One contemporary writer even argued that Ulstermen were in fact the most ‘typically Irish’ of the inhabitants of the island,

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\textsuperscript{107}James Loughlin, \textit{Ulster unionism and British national identity since 1885} (London 1995), pp 24-29. (Hereafter: Loughlin, \textit{Ulster unionism}).
\textsuperscript{108}Unmarked newspaper cutting in Second Home Rule papers (1893) (P.R.O.N.I. T1633).
\textsuperscript{110}Lynd, \textit{Home life}, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{111}Bew, \textit{Ideology and the Irish Question}, p. 28.
\end{flushleft}
preserving valorous characteristics other provincial populations had lost. Although Ulster unionists recognised a difference between themselves and the Catholic majority of the island, this did not automatically mean a distinction between two nations. Major Edward Saunderson (1837-1906), the original leader of the Ulster Unionist party, gave the typical pre-1912 formulation of their perception when he wrote:

There are now two classes – Two Irelands – both professing to have the welfare of the country as their dearest wish, but seeking to secure it by entirely different means. The one – Disloyal Ireland – by intimidation, by murder, by threats of revolt and separation, seek to extort by force from English fear that which England’s reason, refuses to concede; the other – Loyal Ireland – strive for their country’s welfare by every lawful method within the lines of the Constitution of the Empire.112

England’s task was to listen to ‘Loyal Ireland’ of which Ulster formed a distinct territory. Speaking at a county Down unionist meeting against the proposed 1893 Home Rule bill, tenant farmer, Andrew Cole, requested English support for their struggle, appealing as a loyal Irishman, ‘devoted to Crown and Constitution.’113 Five years later, the New Ireland Review published an article explaining why the descendants of rebellious United Irishmen were now staunch loyalists:

It is not enough known that many of the leaders of the United Irishmen in Ulster had no aversion to a legislative Union with Great Britain that, on the contrary they regarded the Irish parliament, as it then existed, as the chief source of Ireland’s woes, and after the rebellion was over, hailed the prospect of a union with Great Britain as the only hope that remained of deliverance from local oppression.

Ulster’s attachment to the Union was clarified as the result of a progressive, good government of liberal laws, under an impartial administration conducive to its prosperity.114

Historian David W. Miller argues that the majority of Ulster Protestants rejected Home Rule – and later demanded self-determination separate from the rest of Ireland – not on the ground that they were British, but because they were loyal.115 The issue was therefore not one of Ulster versus Ireland or even of Protestant versus Catholic, but of

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112 Miller, Queen’s rebels, pp 110-11.
113 Belfast Newsletter, 15 Mar. 1893.
115 Miller, Queen’s rebels, p. 119.
loyalty versus treason. It was only in 1912 when England finally recognised ‘Disloyal Ireland’ as a nation that the ‘two Irelands’ formulation was supplanted by a two nations theory.’ Although this may be largely accurate, the fact that racist and sectarian language were used occasionally in Ulster’s popular press cannot be discounted, and evidently confirms that the province’s Protestant population held other conceptions of difference in comparison with their Catholic countrymen. This sense of distinctiveness had largely emerged with the Home Rule threat in the early 1880s, leading to the popular articulation of ‘Ulster’ as a separate entity from the rest of Ireland. Local Unionist politicians sometimes referred to it as the ‘Imperial Province’, an expression carrying overtones of a civilising mission. Indeed Miller suggests that the the British entity to which Ulster Protestants felt most attached to was not the United Kingdom but the British Empire.

This imperial nationality was an attractive concept because identification with the Empire did not exclude one from being Irish. By associating with a community to which no actual nation corresponded one could still be British without ceasing to be Irish. The rise of Ulster unionism coincided with the period when it was conceivable to believe in the feasibility ‘of a group of self-conscious communities autonomous with respect to their internal affairs but acknowledging a common sovereignty which was more than symbolic.’

Ironically, Ulster acquired this territorial significance when general election results showed that only about half of the nine-county province was truly Protestant territory. In response to the advances of organised nationalism, Ulster’s landed elite opted to channel pre-existing identities and modes of authority in order to create a coherent anti-nationalist alliance. These aristocrats placed themselves at the head of a cross-class coalition of loyalist interests, adopting a demagogic style of leadership more usually associated with Ulster’s radicals. The organisation of various unionist bodies between 1884 and 1896 represented a new situation, where Protestant class and denominational differences were subsumed by a collective desire to preserve the Union with Great Britain, and by extension, Protestant security. An alliance of conservatives

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116 Miller, Queen’s rebels, pp 88-118.
117 Ibid., p. 88.
and liberal unionists defeated the Home Rule bill of 1886 that was augmented by
traditional, cross denominational bodies such as the Orange Order. From this time it
became socially acceptable for well-to-do Presbyterians to join the order, whose members
came primarily from the rural and urban proletariat. The middle-classes saw this
participation as necessary to both maintaining their political power base and controlling
the extended franchise that the Third Reform Act (1884) had created. In Ireland these
changes were thought to benefit the Nationalist party, particularly in Ulster where many
Catholics had been given the vote for the first time. The 1885 general election results
seemed to confirm this suspicion when nationalists routed conservatives and liberals from
every constituency in the three southern provinces except for the two Dublin University
seats. Faced with the prospect of electoral wipe-out, landlords in Ulster reinforced
their economic and political position by strengthening their alliance with Belfast
merchants, and forging bonds with the populist Orange Order. By doing so they had to
appease the demands of these forceful interest groups throughout the 1880s and 1890s,
eventually relinquishing control of the unionist movement to a more professional and
bourgeois leadership in the early years of the twentieth century.

PERCEPTUAL SHIFT

In his introduction to the 1860 edition of his collected stories, William Carleton (1794-
1869) rued the English theatre’s inability to portray Irish people realistically: ‘From
Shakespeare’s time neither play nor farce has ever been presented to an Englishman in
which, when an Irishman is introduced, he is not drawn as a broad grotesque
blunderer.’ That same year Dion Boucicault’s, *The Colleen Bawn* opened in London
making an unprecedented run of 231 nights, on its way to becoming one of the most
successful melodramas of the nineteenth century. Set in the lakeside woods around
Killarney it was adapted from Gerald Griffin’s popular book *The Collegians* (1838) and
was the final play Queen Victoria saw before her husband’s death prompted her to forgo

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119 David Burnett, ‘The modernisation of Unionism, 1892-1914?’ in Richard English and Graham Walker
(eds), *Unionism in modern Ireland: new perspectives on politics and culture* (Basingstoke, New York,
1996), p 41.
120 Miller, *Queen’s rebels*, p. 87-92; Haddick-Flynn, *Orangeism*, p. 300.
121 Fleming, ‘The landed elite etc’, p. 103.
122 Duggan, *The stage Irishman*, p. 294.
123 *Penny Illustrated Paper*, 05 Sept. 1891; Ibid., 06 Oct. 1861.
any future visit to the theatre. Boucicault’s subsequent Irish works all followed a formula that moved their protagonists away from outright buffoonery, while keeping certain aspects that had always entertained audiences. His plays avoided any explicit critique of Britain’s domestic policies, while his villains were always Irish rather than English. This blueprint made his work commercially viable, as evidenced by an 1871 review of *Arrah-na-Pogue*: ‘The dialogue is full of those Hibernian gems, which may be called, for want of better nomenclature, pathetic bulls – that is, phrases where the direct absence of logic is more powerful, expressive, and truthful than logic itself. There are many of these Irish diamonds scattered through the work.’ The playwright’s peasant heroes were usually poachers who lived nomadic lifestyles and spoke an exaggerated brogue. Although he sympathised with the poorest in Irish society, Boucicault was primarily a shrewd entertainer who manipulated English and American theatregoers with an idealised and, for him, a profitable image of Ireland. Nevertheless, one contemporary Irish commentator regarded his work as a marked improvement on previous theatrical incarnations:

The Irish peasant of forty years ago – his home, his habits, manners, dress, his wit and humour, his tender feeling, his angry passions, his inveterate prejudices – all of these have been portrayed with more or less of exaggeration a hundred times. Caricature has done its worst with the subject: but justice has sometimes touched the theme. One of the changes most pleasing in our time is the fact that in England the clumsy Stage Irishman of former days is no longer declared to be the very acme of truthful delineation.

George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950) would subsequently criticise Boucicault for refusing to depart entirely from stage Irish characterisation and his persistence in propagating an inauthentic version of rural life: ‘To an Irishman who has any sort of social conscience, the conception of Ireland as a romantic picture, in which the background is formed by the lakes of Killarney by moonlight, and a round tower … is

126 *Penny Illustrated Paper*, 08 June 1872.
128 Duggan, *The stage Irishman*, pp 294-95.
exasperating.'\(^{129}\) Shaw’s own 1904 play *John Bulls Other Island*, examined the exaggeration that lay at the root of such stereotypes, showing how the Irish themselves sometimes parodied it for material advantage.\(^{130}\)

The year before Irish-American, Patrick O’Brien, had written to the *Southern Star* rallying support for a campaign to rid the theatre of the stage Irishman through a boycott of plays featuring this character. He criticised his fellow countrymen for attending and performing in such shows: ‘I blame the sons and daughters of Irish parents for patronising such scum of the Earth as those low comedians who participate in such plays as “McFadden’s Row of Flats.”’\(^{131}\) Irish-American actor, Edward Harrigan’s Mulligan Guard series was so popular he opened a theatre in New York to stage his own shows. Its main character, Dan Mulligan, was an impoverished Famine immigrant, who had fought bravely for the Union in the American civil war (1861-65), later becoming a politician on the back of a successful grocery business. He was also the leader of an ultra-chauvinistic Irish-American fraternal organisation in conflict with other neighbouring ethnic groups, particularly Germans and those of African origin.\(^{132}\)

Previously, Paddy had been compared with Sambo – the Blackman – on stage in some antebellum Anglo-American shows. Both were portrayed as boastful, lazy and superstitious, although Paddy was more violent in venting frustration at his low social class.\(^{133}\) The *Irish World* objected to these depictions, calling them an outrage, offensive to good taste and a distortion of character.\(^{134}\) By the 1870s a small but significant Irish-American upper and middle class had emerged from the upward mobility of the labouring ranks. Although most immigrants ended their careers with the same occupation they initially started with, it was their American-born children who took ‘fullest advantage’ of the rapid growth of corporate employment and public service bureaucracies.\(^{135}\) This class embarked on a campaign to rid the American theatre of the hated stage-Irishman, using the Ancient Order of Hibernians as a public pressure group to achieve this end. It boycotted all plays featuring such characters, and in turn forced American periodicals to

\(^{129}\) As quoted in Jeffrey Richards, ‘Ireland, the Empire and film’, pp 29-30.
\(^{130}\) Welch, *The Oxford companion to Irish literature*, pp 128-274.
\(^{131}\) *Southern Star*, 9 May 1903.
\(^{134}\) *The Irish World*, 25 Jan. 1896.
\(^{135}\) Miller, ‘Assimilation and alienation’, p. 89.
remove them from their cartoons. However, Chicago’s *Daily Inter Ocean* did not understand what the fuss was about:

The Irish World regards the stage Irishman as an intolerable nuisance, who ought to be hissed off the boards, and the Baltimore American has the same to say of the stage Yankee … We think both lines of character sufficiently true to nature to warrant their existence, and as for Sir Lucius O’Trigger – odds chronicles and contemporaneous literature – he’s just as natural as an Irish baby, and can’t be spared.

By 1896 a shift in perceptions of Irish-Americans was underway, with *The Atlantic Monthly* publishing an article that examined their social contribution over the preceding decades. The author praised Irish service to the Union during the American civil war, citing this as evidence that religion was no longer a contentious issue: ‘The argument against the Irish, as Catholics, is that they owe allegiance first to the Pope, and only secondarily to the government of the United States; but if these two powers ever come in conflict, it is safe to assume that national feeling will prevail, and that the Pope will be disregarded.’ The Irish were also commended for their economic progress and move into white-collar jobs that negated the complacency of the traditional Irish stereotype. Success was a middle class virtue and any vice seemed minor by comparison. The author concluded with an optimistic prediction that the Irish would be indistinguishable from Anglo-Americans in the future, melding to become ‘one in race.’

A majority of Irish immigrants had assimilated quickly to American norms of speech, dress and diet, perceiving such adjustments as symbols of improved status. Fluency in English guaranteed job access that allowed them to participate as active consumers in American society. A comparative analysis of American and Irish immigrant consumer behaviour in Massachusetts over the latter decades of the nineteenth century has revealed that Irish spending was beginning to level with that of Anglo-Americans. This was attributable to improved economic conditions and the spread of consumerism as a response to industrialisation. By 1900 Irish immigrant children had

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137 *Daily Inter Ocean*, 24 Mar. 1875.
139 Miller, ‘Assimilation and alienation’, p. 98.
higher occupational profiles than their American peers outside of New England, and were, in effect, ‘embryonic Yankees awaiting only salary equalization.’\footnote{John Modell, ‘Patterns of consumption, acculturation, and family income strategies in late nineteenth century America’ in Tamara K. Harevan and Maris A. Vinovskis (eds), \textit{Family and population in nineteenth century America} (Princeton, 1978), pp 212-25.} This rise in social class allayed previous Anglo-American fears that Irish Catholic immigrants might be enduringly intractable.\footnote{Miller, ‘Assimilation and alienation’, p. 89.}

A further reason for this perceptual shift was due to the influx of newer immigrants from eastern and southern Europe who arrived en masse in the United States during the 1890s. Unlike the Irish, these groups were not from the Anglophone world and had not undergone prior acculturation before reaching America. Italian peasants and Russian Jews, their physical appearances and attire quite different from previous arrivals, now found themselves targeted with the same prejudice that had been directed against the Irish a generation before. Attacks on these new groups became common, with the \textit{Brooklyn Eagle} reporting in 1892 how a Jewish man ‘on his way to work was so badly stoned that he was obliged to return home and is now under the care of a doctor’. The victim explained that he and his friends could no longer leave their ‘building alone without being hooted at, stoned, clubbed and annoyed in every way possible.’\footnote{\textit{Brooklyn Eagle}, 14 May 1882.} When an outbreak of typhus was traced to a party of Russian immigrants the same paper remarked: ‘As happens with other unpleasant things, the latest New York typhus is an imported article’.\footnote{Ibid., 14 Feb. 1892.} Three years later it editorialised that New York was becoming infested with professional beggars from Europe. One prominent local Baptist minister now led calls to restrict immigration: ‘We are crowded with Italians, Poles, Russians – people who have the smallest possible, if any affinity, to the people of America … and will not pull in with American institutions and be woven into the texture of American life.’ Playing to populist sentiment he demanded that the American government ‘enact a law radical enough to debar from our shores any who will not be to us a credit, until at last we can assimilate and Americanise all we have at present.’\footnote{Ibid., 22 Feb. 1895.}

Evidence of this realignment of attitudes towards Irish-Americans can be found in the failure of the American Protective Association to revive mass anti-Catholic feeling.
throughout the United States during the 1880s.\textsuperscript{145} Like the earlier Know Nothing movement this organisation faded away, hastened by a decline in anti-clericalism attributable to the increasing secularisation and prosperity of American society. It would be incorrect though to assume that this prejudice no longer existed. For many Anglo-Americans the continued Irish adherence to Catholicism still made them partial outsiders. However, as the Irish-American middle class expanded the establishment came to grudgingly respect this group’s conformity to American values.\textsuperscript{146} The upshot of all this was a reconfiguration of Irish-American stereotypes that transformed associated vices – pugnacity, drunkenness – into affable ethnic quirks, precipitating in the emergence of new more benign depictions in American newspaper comic strips by the 1890s. Here Irish stereotypes became more sympathetically rendered in open-ended narratives now increasingly illustrated by artists from minority groups, who adopted a more nuanced approach in depicting ethnic types than their Anglo-American predecessors had done a generation before. The Paddy stereotype now evolved into a more representative marker of everyman misfortune that subverted dominant values through irreverent humour. Kerry Soper suggests that this ideological shift in the use of Irishness as a witty device propagated the notion that one’s racial configuration was not the root cause of one’s poverty or misfortune. The low brow status of comic strips as a mass medium for immigrants and illiterate working-class folk, allowed it to evade the control of cultural guardians until the rise of national syndication in the mid-1910s.\textsuperscript{147} By this time, cartoons of Paddy had lost all negative associations, facilitating the stereotype’s application to wider aspects of popular culture, most notably trade cards, where images of stage Irish figures now appeared more frequently.

Chromolithographed advertising cards, to give them their proper name, were Victorian America’s earliest and most ubiquitous mass commercial images. Contemporary trade journals attest to the magnitude of both their circulation and the associated public fad for collecting them. These items facilitated the mass reception of a new consumerist ideal of white Anglo-American domesticity, acquainting potential

\begin{itemize}
\item Donavan, ‘Good old Pat’, p. 7.
\item Kohler, ‘Some aspects of the immigration problem’, p. 108; Brooklyn Eagle, 5 Nov. 1899.
\end{itemize}
consumers with nationally distributed name-brand commodities. By the 1890s the trade card’s place in American homes had inculcated advertising as ‘a common referential discourse, predisposing potential consumers to see later illustrated magazine advertising and consumer culture itself as a therapeutic, even redemptive pursuit.’ A range of ethnic and racial stereotypes appeared in their illustrations, including both male and female Irish figures, which in the improved social context of the decade meant benign rather than negative depictions. One trade card for Pond’s Extract, a popular washing powder, from 1892 entitled ‘Bound For Donnybrook Fair (Fully Equipped)’ (Fig. 2.9), shows a carefree, shillelagh twirling Irishman on his way to one of these infamous horse races near Dublin, banned forty years before because of notorious violence. The bag of Pond’s Extract slung across his shoulder implies that he will need the detergent to wash out the inevitable bloodstains from his clothes. The small liquor bottle protruding from his pocket resembles that carried by one of Thomas Nast’s rampaging simians in his illustration of the violence surrounding the 1867 St. Patrick’s Day parade in New York. In this instance however, it is intended as a light-hearted explanation for the inevitable brawling rather than a condemnation of the proverbial Irish dependency on drink salient in Nast’s earlier cartoon. Furthermore, the jovial and softened countenance of the skipping stage Irishman contrasts with the simian features of previous depictions, engendering a positive response in the viewer that Pond’s used to sell its product.

In 1906 the *Irish Independent* reported an incident at the Majestic Theatre, Boston where the Irish-American audience jeered a comedian for portraying a drunken Irishman after a St. Patrick’s Day parade. President of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, James F. Nolan praised the crowd for its intolerance, saying the stage Irishman was a product of the London music hall, and that ‘as long as the Irish sat and applauded [this] monstrosity … actors would supply the demand.’ The same year a conference of Liverpool Irish societies formed a federation for the purpose of dealing effectively with the stage Irishman and ‘all features of a nature insulting to the Irish people which might be introduced into concerts, bazaars, music hall, theatrical, and other entertainments.’

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150 *Southern Star*, 15 Dec. 1906.
As in the United States, Irish assimilation into British society also occurred gradually in the latter half of the nineteenth century. This group however, did not transform into either an expatriate community or a fully accepted component of general society. Instead its members occupied a middle ground between tolerance and rejection because their presence became less obvious and hence less resented. A factor in this was the decline in Irish immigration. By the century’s end Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe – part of the same emigrant stream that flowed on to America – had overtaken the Irish significantly in terms of the total migratory population of Britain. Although British hostility to Irish immigrants still endured somewhat, violent clashes became less common after the early 1870s. Ethnic violence became increasingly directed against Jewish, Chinese or black targets, with Irish immigrants often supporting British mobs in racist attacks.151

In 1888 the *Weekly Freeman* published a John F. O’Hea cartoon that alluded to a change in British public opinion regarding the Irish question. ‘The Union of Hearts’ (Fig. 2.10), shows John Bull, Pat and Sandy standing in a circle, one foot each on a new contract of Union binding them all together in friendship rather than a single legislature, the supporters of which look on aghast from behind a British flag flanking the scene. Further back a wall plaque supports the shields of both Ireland and Britain, enclosed within a scrolled motto declaring: ‘The friendship of two peoples, is the safety of both.’ A green Irish flag hangs down over the three, each clasping the others’ hands in fraternal confirmation. John Bull is dressed as a craftsman instead of in his usual country squire costume, while Pat, handsome and strong, is an idealised version of a small tenant farmer. A caption below refers to those lurking behind the British flag as anti-unionist conspirators who exclaim that ‘here is the very thing we have been scheming against for generations.’ The verse attributed to them in an accompanying poem gives further context to the image:

> Confound it! These fellows in friendship unite,  
> Despite all our ‘cute machinations  
> To plunge them in hopeless and ruinous fight!  
> This destroys all our great expectations,

For the hope that we cherished of victory departs,  
When the masses are joined in a Union of Hearts.152

This doggerel indicates that the anti-unionist conspirators are in fact unionists, who have had their role reversed in a topsy-turvy world where the artist has distorted things to reflect the sympathy generated amongst the British working-class by Irish chief secretary Balfour’s draconian action to end the plan of campaign. His Perpetual Crimes Act (1887) had led to the imprisonment of hundreds of people without trial and outlawed the National League, suppressing all its local branches and receiving, in the process, widespread international press coverage. The involvement of the Royal Irish Constabulary in the death of two civilians at a riot in Mitchelstown angered British working-class opinion, which now largely sympathised with Irish tenant grievances against their landlords.153 In the cartoon the anti-unionist conspirators regard this solidarity as dangerous to their own cause as it might deepen popular support for Home Rule across the United Kingdom. Significantly, this image was also published the same year as the Irish Exhibition at Olympia, London, which aimed to foster a better understanding between the populations of Ireland and Great Britain.

On stage George Bernard Shaw’s successful play *John Bull’s Other Island*, also attempted to generate this empathy, but was criticised by one Irish newspaper letter writer for its inaccurate reflection of contemporary rural life.154 Shaw had originally written it at William Butler Yeats’ request ‘as a patriotic contribution to the repertory of the Irish Literary Theatre.’ He later claimed the latter rejected it because it was ‘uncongenial to the whole spirit of the neo-Gaelic movement’, which drew on the political culture of Irish nationalism and its idealisation of peasant life on the land.155 The transformation in rural property relations altered land ownership in favour of small tenant farmers, further instilled a notion of sacredness between the peasantry and the countryside. Lady Gregory’s 1906 pamphlet, *Irish Plays*, explained the reason for this exaltation: ‘[Peasant] life is rich in dramatic materials while the Irish peasantry of the hills and coast speak an

exuberant language and have a primitive grace and wildness due to the wild country they
live in, which gives their most ordinary life a vividness and colour unknown in more
civilised places.’ Moreover, it was envisaged that Irish peasant drama could create a
sense of social cohesion in a country desperately trying to culturally define itself,
appositionally, against Britain.\textsuperscript{156} It would also finally put an end to the stage-Irishman,
fulfilling an aim of the national theatre’s manifesto:

\begin{quote}
We propose to have performed in Dublin, in the spring of every year, certain Celtic and
Irish plays, which whatever be their degree of excellence will be written with a high
ambition, and so build up a Celtic and Irish school of dramatic literature …We will show
that Ireland is not the home of buffoonery and of easy sentiment, as it has been
represented, but the home of an ancient idealism.\textsuperscript{157}
\end{quote}

The nationalist \textit{Irish Independent} applauded such an intention: ‘Honour to the men and
women of the new movement who have declined to accept an ape as a prototype of the
highly spirited Gaels.’\textsuperscript{158}

However, when John Millington Synge’s \textit{Playboy of the Western World} first
opened at the Abbey in 1907, it caused riots in the audience for offending the populist
conception of rural life.\textsuperscript{159} Nationalists condemned it as a travesty that evoked an
alcoholic peasantry of dreamers ‘rather than a people ready to assume the responsibilities
of self-government.’\textsuperscript{160} The \textit{Irish Times} thought the overreaction of the crowd absurd:
‘An audience who calls out ‘Kill the author’ is ridiculous when it takes exception to
imaginary culpable homicide.’\textsuperscript{161} Revising its earlier praise, the \textit{Irish Independent}
wondered how ‘a movement that has for its every objective the destruction of such stage
Irishman types as Christy Mahon’ could inflict such a character on the public.\textsuperscript{162} The
play’s stormy tour of America four years later coincided with a visit by George Bernard

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{156} Fintan O’Toole, ‘Going west: The country versus the city in Irish writing’ in \textit{The Crane Bag}, Vol. 9, No. 2, (1985) pp 111-12.
\textsuperscript{157} Kiberd, \textit{The Irish writer}, p. 26.
\textsuperscript{158} \textit{Irish Independent}, 10 Oct. 1905.
\textsuperscript{160} Welch, \textit{The Oxford companion to Irish literature}, p. 474.
\textsuperscript{161} \textit{Irish Times}, 13 Feb. 1907.
\textsuperscript{162} \textit{Irish Independent}, 28 Jan. 1907.
\end{footnotes}
Shaw, who condemned Irish-America’s overreaction to the Abbey players’ performance, especially since many of its members still patronised stage-Irish shows.¹⁶³

**PADDY’S GRAPHIC RECONSTRUCTION ON POSTCARDS, 1902-14**

Prototypes of the picture postcard can be traced back to 1840 when Irishman William Mulready designed a series of illuminated envelopes for the penny post, which proved unpopular with the British public.¹⁶⁴ During the 1880s postcards with pre-printed illustrations first appeared in Germany, displaying images of famous municipal landmarks.¹⁶⁵ The printing firms of Dresden and Leipzig were pre-eminent in fabricating both fine quality art and photographic cards, enabling Germany to dominate the postcard industry during the boom years (1900-14) before the First World War. Between 1890 and 1913, the number of cards posted in the country rose from 31,429,600 to 1,792,824,900. Britain by comparison, registered a smaller growth for the same period, due to the Postmaster General’s prolonged reluctance in allowing picture postcards to be sent through the post until 1902.¹⁶⁶

Sustained pressure from postal reformers like Heinneker Heaton MP (1848-1914) had helped bring about this change, which aimed to generate greater efficiency in the British Post Office. During the latter decades of the nineteenth century, Heaton’s newspaper articles had highlighted many postal discrepancies, most notably how the cost of sending a letter from continental Europe to British India (2.5d) was cheaper than posting it from the United Kingdom to the same destination (5d).¹⁶⁷ Exporter Martin J. Sutton, whose firm spent several thousands of pounds annually with the Post Office, agreed with Heaton’s indictment of this variance and urged ‘everyone who has any patriotic regard for English mercantile supremacy to insist that such anomalies as have

¹⁶⁴ Brent Elliott, ‘A brief guide to the use of picture postcards in garden history’ in *Garden History*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Winter, 2003), p. 218. (Hereafter: Elliott, ‘A brief guide’). Frank Staff states that the postcard evolved rather than being invented. Early examples include the trade cards of the seventeenth century; the visiting cards of the eighteenth century; the visiting cards of the eighteenth century; tradesmen’s letterheads of the early nineteenth century; and the pictorial writing paper of the 1850s and 1860s. See Staff, *The picture postcard and its origins* (London, 1978), pp 7-8.
¹⁶⁷ *The Times*, 07 Sept. 1889.
now been clearly pointed out shall no longer be tolerated.’ He maintained that high postage rates to India had hampered British traders, who were now losing ground to German merchants in far-east markets.168 ‘There is a general feeling amongst business men’, noted Sutton, ‘that … there has been of late years a lamentable failure to keep abreast of the times and to retain for this country the advantage, so essential to her commercial prosperity of being better served in the matter of letter-carrying than any of her rivals.’ Moreover, this desire for postal reform was not exclusive to capitalists: farmers, professionals and the general public were also anxious that these inconsistencies be resolved.169 Another critic wondered how the Post-Master General could sleep peacefully at night while it remained cheaper to send a letter from Germany to Australia than from England to the same destination. ‘Of course’, suggested the same detractor, ‘from the moment it was established that trade follows the flag we ought to have had imperial penny postage.’170

Succumbing to mounting public pressure, the British government reduced the rate of postage from the United Kingdom to her colonies. A Times editorial heralded this move as a new era for postal communication, bringing most of the British Empire within one postal zone. The paper rejoiced that it would soon ‘be permissible to communicate as cheaply from London with Calcutta … as from Paris or Brussels’, ending the absurdity of a system that treated British territories ‘as postally more remote’ from the mother country than from Switzerland and Russia. ‘Whatever the possibilities of easy communication between the post offices of the continental states and British possessions’, reminded The Times, ‘they must naturally be more and larger for the post offices of the British Empire itself … Remember that the function of the Post Office as a collector of revenue is accidental, and its duty as public letter carrier is essential.’171

In 1894 the same paper estimated that the Post Office would lose £20,000 annually once its monopoly on manufacturing plain postcards ended. Previously it had sold them for three times their cost price and turned over large yearly profits that had, according to the paper, been extorted primarily ‘from the pocket of the small

168 The Times, 21 Sept. 1889.
169 Ibid., 29 Oct. 1889.
170 Ibid., 17 Jan. 1890.
171 Ibid., 26 Dec. 1890.
purchaser.'\textsuperscript{172} Regulations for the proposed new private cards stipulated that the address side was to be without a border or any other ‘ornamental or pictorial design (as allowed on the Continent).’ Nothing was to be written or impressed on this side except ‘the addresses of the sender and receiver, and a request for return in case of non-delivery.’\textsuperscript{173} In 1898 Heaton met with the Secretary of the Post Office to recommend increasing the size of private postcards in order to allow scenic pictures similar to the ones found on German missives. Heaton argued that if this was done then local stationers could ‘adorn their postcards with engravings, photographs, and “chromos” of local scenes of interest and beauty,’ resulting in a tourist boom to Britain much like Germany was then experiencing.\textsuperscript{174} The Post Office relented in their refusal until 1902, by which time ‘448 million postcards, or 11.6 for every member of the British population’ were estimated to have been delivered by it in that year alone.\textsuperscript{175}

Such was the contemporary craze for collecting picture postcards that \textit{The Times} reported how German colonial officials in Kiao-chau and Cameroon, were being inundated with ‘countless requests to post to the writers local illustrated postcards or postage stamps.’ According to the paper Germany itself was the centre of the postcard phenomenon, where ‘every town and village, and even every country house’ had its own representation.\textsuperscript{176} In 1904 an Irish journalist writing about his trip to East Africa reported how when his ship anchored off Suez locals came aboard to sell them miscellaneous items, including picture postcards of ancient ruins.\textsuperscript{177} Another reporter noted how the new availability of cheap Kodak cameras had contributed to the ubiquity of postcards and the connected growth of international tourism:

\begin{quote}
The photographer has photographed everything between the poles…The click of his shutter has been heard on every Alp and in every desert. He has hunted down every landscape and seascape on the globe. Every bird and every beast has been captured by the camera. It is impossible to gaze upon a ruin without finding a Picture Postcard of it at your elbow. Every pimple on the Earth’s skin has been photographed, and wherever the
\end{quote}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[172] \textit{The Times}, 11 Aug. 1894.
\item[173] Ibid., 14 May 1896.
\item[174] Ibid., 19 Aug. 1899.
\item[175] \textit{The Irish Times}, 22 Aug. 1903.
\item[176] \textit{The Times}, 19 Aug. 1899.
\item[177] \textit{The Irish Times}, 26 March 1904.
\end{footnotes}
human eye roves or roams it detects the self-conscious air of the reproduced. The aspect of novelty has been filched from the visible world. The earth is eye-worn.\textsuperscript{178}

In the highly competitive British market publishers vied with each other to attract new customers. Dried flowers, feathers, glass eyes, glitter, hair, mirrors, seed and shamrock were all appliquéd to postcards to increase their appeal.\textsuperscript{179} Although popular, most novelty postcards breached postal regulations, culminating in an official ban on their delivery.\textsuperscript{180} Analyses of postcard messages for this period reveal frequent spelling errors that has led some historians to conclude that lower middle-class and working-class people were the greatest consumers of such ephemera. Furthermore, postcards were inexpensive to produce, sell and buy, and were well within the means of most working-class people.\textsuperscript{181} They could be viewed in a single glance, required no viewing apparatus, and were ‘bright, multi-purpose and pervasive.’\textsuperscript{182} Naomi Schor contends that collecting postcards was commonly seen as a feminine activity ‘and this collecting activity secured the feminization of the postcard in the mind of its early commentators.’\textsuperscript{183} Another scholar has also suggested that the majority of postcard club members were probably upper middle class women because of this groups’ greater leisure time to form and cultivate an interest.\textsuperscript{184} Although the act of collection was generally theorised as a masculine activity, one contemporary commentator regarded the postcard as an exception to this law of gendering: ‘The postcard has always been a feminine vice. Men do not write postcards to each other. When a woman has time to waste she writes a letter: when she has no time to waste, she writes a postcard.’\textsuperscript{185}

By the late 1900s lewd postcards had become a lucrative part of commodity culture, retailing in corner shops, markets and on the streets of British cities. Most were

\begin{footnotes}
\item[178] Staff, \textit{The picture postcard and its origins} p. 79.
\item[179] Seamus Kearns, ‘Collecting picture postcards’ in \textit{Dublin Historical Record}, Vol. 54, No. 2 (Autumn, 2001), p. 143. According to Kearns the most popular novelty was the ‘pull-out’.
\item[180] \textit{The Irish Times}, 29 June 1907. This was because many sorting office staff had reported injuries after handling them.
\item[181] Fraser, ‘Propaganda etc’, p. 39.
\item[184] Fraser, ‘Propaganda etc’, p. 39.
\item[185] Schor, ‘Cartes postales, p. 212.
\end{footnotes}
crudely illustrated and captioned with sexual innuendo that customers found titillating. Other more openly pornographic postcards were also sold at these locations, propagating nineteenth-century visual and ideological theories by making certain types of people beautiful and others exotic. This was especially true of colonial postcards and their captions labelling displayed individuals as types. These typologies reflected collective meanings of a foreign sexuality that stood in opposition to white sexuality. For a time normal censorship did not apply to such items and their images of naked or semi naked men and women circulated openly. As a result colonial postcards both hyper-sexualized ‘native’ subjects and intensified the imperial gaze upon them. Colonial photographers recorded ‘native women’ in houses and courtyards, engaged in daily routines, with visual signs of exoticism (hookahs and water jars) in the background. The apparent reality of these scenes allowed consumers to become familiar with the inaccessible world of foreign sexuality and its place within a pacified colonial order.186

The wide distribution of such images outraged some members of the British public, with one indignant letter-writer to The Times, railing against ‘the vulgarity, semi-indecency, and blasphemous suggestiveness’ of many postcards he had seen on sale. Their vulgar pictures were ‘a standing menace to the morality’ of all young Britons, who were susceptible to having their minds ‘poisoned’ by them.187 A concerned Sir Adolph Tuck, owner of postcard manufacturers Raphael Tuck & Sons, condemned the police in seaside resorts for failing to check the traffic in vulgar postcards and informed local vendors that they were engaging in a ‘dubious trade.’188 Some retail associations however did take it upon themselves to rid their areas of this ‘down-grade nuisance.’ In Southport traders acted after complaints were made to the police about certain shops stocking offensive material. The local retail association banned members from supplying these postcards, calling on more to be done to prevent their circulation.189 These sentiments were echoed in the Irish Times where an article rued how postcards no longer solely exhibited pictures of scenery, or famous portraits. Instead a situation had arisen where ‘many pictures of a very objectionable nature’ now scattered freely, despite the

186 Sigel, ‘Filth in the wrong people’s hands etc’, p. 861-64; Malek Alloula, The colonial harem (Minneapolis, 1986), p. 64.
187 The Times, 07 Jan, 1913.
188 Ibid, 09 Jan, 1913.
189 Ibid, 11 Feb, 1913.
fact that such images were now prohibited from postal delivery. English seaside towns were traced as the source for most of these postcards, which, alarmingly, were beginning to turn up in Ireland for the first time.\textsuperscript{190} The humorous Murty’s letters section of the paper noted how others were originating from further afield: ‘I thank my Irish South African friend for his pictorial postcard of a Zulu beauty. Tis a free country indeed out there: for if she was over here where plenty of clothes is insisted upon, even in the case of livin’ statutary, she’d be a victim, and ordered to give her custom without delay to a decent dressmaker and milliner.’\textsuperscript{191}

The Times reported that the number of plain postcards sold in Ireland rose from approximately 6.5 million in 1881 to 10.6 million in 1890.\textsuperscript{192} The most prominent Irish publisher was William Lawrence of Dublin, who took a large share of this market by commissioning established artists like John Carey (1861-1943) to illustrate company postcards with a range of stage Irish characters. One vacationing Irish-American however, was appalled by these illustrations and wrote to the Irish Independent, expressing his dismay at finding them exhibited in Dublin shop windows:

Sir – Why is it that Irish citizens here in the Metropolis of Ireland tolerate the display and sale of offensive postcards which ridicule the Irish race? In America we have practically put an end to that kind of thing; and upon my arrival in this city I was very much surprised to see exhibited in many of your shop windows cards which we would regard in New York or Philadelphia as very objectionable.\textsuperscript{193}

This commodification of Irish identity had been on-going throughout the latter decades of the nineteenth century when miniature bog oak ornaments of stage Irish Paddies were continuously sold as souvenirs at tourist centres like Killarney. In one example of this type of postcard published by James Valentine & Sons, two middle-class women bargain with a farmer for his well-fed pig outside his cottage somewhere in an Irish countryside during the 1900s (Fig. 2.11a). They are most likely day-trippers who have arrived by train to buy bacon slices rather than the entire pig the stage Irish farmer is now selling, with the hook that his swine would be proud if one of the lovely ladies ate it for

\begin{footnotes}
\item[190] Irish Times, 18 Jan. 1913.
\item[191] Ibid., 11 May 1907.
\item[192] The Times, 11 Aug. 1891.
\item[193] Irish Independent, 18 Jul. 1913.
\end{footnotes}
breakfast. This illogical utterance, or bull, is a flattering attempt to charm the women to purchase his fattened swine, whose corpulent bulk takes up the left foreground of this postcard.\textsuperscript{194} Watching proceedings is the farmer’s jealous wife who wears less stylish clothes than the visitors flirting nonchalantly in the farmyard outside her door. Missing is the ubiquitous dung pile no nineteenth-century traveller to Ireland failed to note, implying the farmer has no need of it as a fertilizer for his potato field.\textsuperscript{195} The well-built farmhouse suggests his status as a tenant proprietor, perhaps even a beneficiary of the 1903 Wyndham Land Act, which would have facilitated its purchase, as it did in reality for many.

On the postcards reverse side a decorative stamp reveals that its original buyer was a Home Rule supporter, who failed to post it to anyone (Fig. 2.11b). The stamp encloses a gold harp in the shape of a woman: Hibernia – the female personification of Ireland, who is framed by four sisters in classical dress. Each holds unfurled scrolls demanding ‘justice’, ‘mercy’, ‘peace’ and ‘truth’ for a future Ireland unshackled from Great Britain. This suggests that it was likely purchased between 1912 and 1914, during the heightened political climate of the third Home Rule crisis, when such stamps were commonly applied to postcards manufactured in Ireland.

The postcard’s propaganda value had been realised very early on in its existence, with most countries seeing the publication of patriotic cards depicting heads of state, army parades, ships and victorious generals. Caricatures also appeared and sets of anti-British cartoons were printed in Germany and Austria-Hungary during the South African war (1899-1902).\textsuperscript{196} Some satirised the royal family, with one English visitor to Vienna particularly shocked by the popularity of ‘disgusting representations of Queen Victoria borrowed from comic papers of every description.’ In fact they were so popular, thousands more were printed as illustrated postcards for Christmas and New Year’s greetings.\textsuperscript{197} Similarly, during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) postcards were sold in every Russian city in order to raise support for the unpopular conflict. Most showed

\textsuperscript{194} For an early nineteenth-century rebuttal on the Irish penchant for bulls see Maria Edgeworth, \textit{An essay on Irish bulls}, Jane Desmarais and Marilyn Butler (eds), (Dublin, 2006).
\textsuperscript{195} David Lloyd, ‘Nomadic figures: the rhetorical excess of Irishness in political economy’ in Maureen O’Connor and Tadhg Foley (eds), \textit{Back to the future of Irish studies: festschrift for Tadhg Foley} (Bern, 2010), p. 54. (Hereafter: O’Connor and Foley (eds), \textit{Back to the future etc}).
\textsuperscript{196} JFraser, ‘Propaganda etc’, p. 40.
\textsuperscript{197} \textit{The Times}, 13 Jan. 1902.
battle scenes, real or imagined, where the Japanese were consistently defeated or massacred by Russian troops. Other images showed Russia in the shape of a ‘gigantic Cossack examining a tiny Japanese through a microscope’, underestimating the military capabilities of its eventual victor.198

In 1912 the *Irish Independent* revealed that Ulster unionist postcards were circulating in Ireland showing the king’s portrait flanked by photographs of Sir Edward Carson (1854-1935) and Conservative party leader, Andrew Bonar-Law MP, with the inscription: ‘One King, one flag, one fleet, one Empire.’ The card was brought to the attention of the king’s private secretary, who insisted that no approval had been given for the use of the king’s likeness.199 One critic of Carson’s called him a ‘stage Irishman … no other Irishman speaks with so deliberate a brogue … chosen to lead because he could be trusted not to go too far.’200 Indeed during the third Home Rule crisis Redmond and Carson became regular targets of *Punch*’s political cartoons. The periodical’s portrayal of Irishmen in the 1900s persisted in using the rowdy Paddy stereotype for comic effect, but without the racist overtones of previous depictions. One *Punch* cartoon from February 1910 showed a crowned John Redmond dressed in peasant attire, sitting atop the British throne in royal robes adorned with shamrocks. From this date until 1918 a full third of the magazine’s caricatures of the Irish Parliamentary Party leader presented him in this stage-Irish persona, often with a mischievous pig in tow.201 *Punch* also initially subjected Edward Carson to similar ridicule, but stopped following the introduction of the Home Rule Bill in 1912.202 By now it had revised its editorial policy and come out in favour of Home Rule, no longer viewing it as the end of the British constitution, or even the empire. Although the magazine sympathised with the plight of the unionist population of Ulster, it never fully supported Carson’s brand of unionism, which demanded the utter defeat of Home Rule legislation, by armed force if necessary.203 Redmond’s vocal support for British imperialism had belatedly reassured British journals like *Punch* of the

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198 Ibid., 22 Oct. 1904.
199 Ibid, 26 Apr. 1912.
202 Ibid., p. 428.
203 Ibid., p. 430.
feasibility in devolving power to a Dublin executive without damaging the empire’s integrity. Once Home Rule was achieved, he argued, Ireland would become a full participant in its governance. In 1908 Redmond told an interviewer that Ireland’s stake in the imperial enterprise was too large to countenance being detached from it: ‘The Irish people peopled the waste places of Greater Britain. Our roots are in the imperial as well as the national.’ Two years later he repeated the same sentiments to another journalist: ‘We do not demand such complete autonomy as the British self-governing colonies possess, for we are willing to abide by any fiscal system enacted by the British government… Once we receive Home Rule, we shall demonstrate our imperial loyalty beyond question.’ Ulster unionists remained unconvinced and Belfast postcard publishers deployed a range of stage-Irish tropes to ridicule nationalists, sometimes imagining a dystopia where Home Rule had crippled Ireland into anarchy.

In ‘Home Rule Parliament 1915’, illustrated by John Carey (Fig. 2.12), a fight has broken out between members of an imagined future Irish parliament reconvened on the site of its predecessor at College Green, Dublin. Its distinguished members are ‘discussing the military defences of the Kingdom’ in a heated debate that has blown up in violence and whose unlucky victims resemble the hapless policemen in Nast’s 1867 image. The assembly’s varied composition is apparent in the different styles of clothing each individual wears, with one of them sporting an obvious stage-Irish outfit, signifying his representation of a peasant constituency. The scene shows a brutal faction fight in the crowded chamber as competing interests plunge it into anarchy. Carey’s illustration uses the violent and irrational Irish Catholic stereotype as humour to show the seriousness of Ulster unionist concerns regarding the devolution of executive power from London to Dublin. Like their political ancestors in ‘The Land Agitation in Ireland’, these Home Rulers are unruly, except now in this postcard image they are squandering legislative power by promoting local interests.

Belfast publishers also conveniently deployed the same tropes when showing how integral Ireland was to the United Kingdom. This was based on the premise that it was a crucial component in an overarching British identity that tied in with parliament’s

204 Bew, Conflict and conciliation etc, p. 19.
promotion of a homogenous national culture after 1902. The high number of volunteers rejected for active service on the grounds of poor health during the South African war had caused national anxiety, prompting a government investigation. As international tensions mounted the idea that the United Kingdom needed a fit and healthy population capable of defending it received more currency, resulting in a series of social reform bills covering both islands. Henry Balfour, curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, envisaged a permanent exhibition incorporating the distinctive arts and industries of each home country. Indeed The Times referred to the period between 1912 and 1914 as ‘one of the greatest crises in the history of the British race’, regarding Irish and British identity as part of the same civilization, whereas formerly, Catholic Paddy was usually excluded from membership.

In the undated postcard ‘No Home Rule: United we stand; Divided we fall’ (Fig. 2.13) Paddy, or rather in this instance, Pat, once again wears the attire of a small rural landowner, sharing equality of class with his brothers in the Union, who are each dressed as members of the gentry. As in ‘The Union of Hearts’ this oath of fidelity is enacted with a linking of arms that binds them together in a declaration of mutual dependency guaranteeing their continued security and prosperity. Like the eighteenth-century stage Irishman, this character is a composite of Irish-Catholic and Anglo-Irish identities, representing both communities in an immediately recognisable archetype descended from the dissolute rebel of Gilray’s 1798 cartoon. Paddy is shown as being crucial to the continued hegemony of the British Empire, which would unravel should the fraternal bond be definitively broken.

CONCLUSION
At a public lecture in London in 1914, Irish author George Birmingham acknowledged that the baboon face, which Punch and the English stage had once considered uniquely Irish was now finally extinct, having being superseded by a new theatrical creation more

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207 Coombes, ‘Museums and the formation etc’, p. 65.
208 The Times, 27 Jul. 1914.
closer to reality. He praised George Bernard Shaw for killing off the stage Irishman, but warned that his Irish characters were already in danger of becoming unintended archetypes for a new generation of theatregoers, oblivious to the evolving reality of Irish society and its inevitable progression from such representations.\footnote{The Times, 6 Mar. 1914; Irish Times, 23 Dec. 1911.} The original stage Irishman had experienced this process over a century before, when British dramatists had divided his personality into Catholic and Protestant parts and clothed him in the wardrobe of an early nineteenth-century peasant. The later transformation of the former into a simian agitator at the hands of British and American cartoonists contrasted with the handsome appearance of his Protestant compatriot, who, although more fashionably illustrated, continued to wear typical stage Irish attire while remaining distinctively human, the 1871 Irish World illustration notwithstanding.

In retaliation nationalist cartoonists working within the pages of Pat and the Weekly Freeman humanised Irish Catholics to counter their racist depiction in the Anglo-American press, endowing them with modern costumes that reflected the social status of each magazine’s middle class readership. It was this class within Irish-America who campaigned most for the suppression of stage Irish characters, which by the 1900s had re-emerged on the faces of illustrated postcards. While initially a cause of concern for some Irish-American tourists to the country, Paddy’s consolidated human appearance and general affability gained him a toleration not afforded to the simians of Tenniel’s cartoons. This humanisation reached its climax during the third Home Rule crisis when Paddy was employed in Ulster unionist propaganda culminating in a graphic re-union between Irish masculinity’s opposing strands.
Chapter 3
‘Unison in disunion’: the Irish Tourist Association and postcards, 1888 – 1914

INTRODUCTION
This chapter examines the development of mass tourism to Ireland between 1888 and 1914. It analyses how the Irish Tourist Association successfully promoted Ireland abroad as a viable tourist destination reformed of its violent reputation for agrarian unrest. The complementary involvement of Irish and British railway companies also contributed to this rehabilitation, which relied on the publication of various illustrated guidebooks using photographs mainly purchased from the respective studios of William Lawrence and Robert Welch to attract tourists to the country. The adherence of their images to aesthetic precepts of the picturesque dictated the way Ireland was visually consumed abroad, creating an artistic interpretation of the country that was later replicated on picture postcards sold at tourist sites like Killarney. Such items also used stage Irish tropes to propagate an imagined view of Ireland, whose origin lay in the utopian displays of various model Irish villages built for international exhibitions during the late Victorian period. This chapter initially investigates visitors’ impressions of Ireland to identify the country’s place in early nineteenth-century travel writing. Two land war illustrations from the Graphic are also examined to show how these examples reinforced Ireland’s international reputation for violence, contributing to the temporary stagnation of its burgeoning tourist industry. Finally, this chapter analyses how the synthesis between the activities of the Irish Tourist Association and picture postcards created a more positive view of Ireland that was reflected in the continual growth of Irish tourism during the era reviewed.

TOURISM AND SURVEILLANCE, 1800-82
A tourist sight is a place distinct from everyday life by virtue of its natural, historical or cultural extraordinariness.¹ Eighteenth-century travel writing originated the idea of

Ireland as an ancient place of primitive beauty, beyond the scope of modernity.\(^2\) Between 1750 and 1790, an estimated 100 Irish travel-guides were published extolling the landscape’s natural beauty as part of a general change in European aestheticism.\(^3\) Environments previously regarded as remote and uncultivated became venues of primitive delight, challenging the older landscape aesthetic based on proportion.\(^4\) This concept of the ‘sublime’ influenced the work of both artists and writers, enabling upper-class British tourists to enjoy Ireland’s terrain.\(^5\) Overlapping with this was the idea of the ‘picturesque’, which included anything diverse, peculiar and worn.\(^6\) It directed the gaze of travellers, providing a focal point that allowed them to compose mental pictures of landscapes according to certain rules.\(^7\) These scenes were usually centred on rock formations, ruins or quaint locals, permitting travellers to categorise native populations.\(^8\) Thus, in 1842 English traveller, J. Stirling Coyne, noted how the women of Galway city wore red petticoats that gave them a ‘foreign aspect’ complementing ‘the Italian or Spanish look of most of the streets of the town.’\(^9\) That same year, William Makepeace Thackeray described how he saw a ‘thousand charming pictures’ along the coach route between Cork and Bantry.\(^10\) Similarly German tourist, Johann Georg Kohl, stated that Irish ruins provided painters with ideal subjects because their walls were draped in ‘beautiful ivy … wild roses, yews and similar plants.’\(^11\) His remarks coincided with the publication of the first illustrated guides on Ireland, endowing readers with a visual impression previously communicated exclusively through text.\(^12\)

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\(^2\) Mark McGovern, “‘The cracked pint glass’”, pp 96-97.
\(^4\) Hooper, *The tourist’s gaze*, xix.
\(^12\) Michael R. Booth, ‘Irish landscape in the Victorian theatre,’ p.163.
Connoisseurs of the picturesque were chiefly directed towards the island’s rugged west coast. Newspapers like the *Freeman’s Journal* praised the natural beauty of areas like Killarney, where ‘Nature in forming so lovely a scene of lakes and wooded shores, and promontories, and islands, had displayed all her artistic taste, and had carefully regarded the importance of perspective and grouping in the unrivalled arrangement of the mountain scenery.’  Various editions of *Black’s picturesque tourist of Ireland*, charted its rapid growth as a holiday destination throughout the mid nineteenth century. This had been facilitated through advances in transport that significantly increased visitors to Ireland. In 1824 the first steam packet was introduced between Dublin and Holyhead, reducing the sea-voyage to hours. A decade later Ireland’s first railway line was built between Dublin and Kingstown, growing to a countrywide network by the 1890s. Trains permitted travellers to journey speedily and comfortably, leading to a decline in the horse drawn Bianconi car previously connecting Irish towns. Throughout the 1850s railway companies built hotels near stations selling tourist tickets granting multiple stops on certain lines. Formerly remote areas like Killarney now built amenities to draw visitors. Seaside resorts were also developed on both coasts of Ireland, catering for a growing number of middle-class British travellers anxious to escape their own polluted cities.

In Britain cheaper rail fares had made excursions to the beach possible, as a shortened workweek allowed more leisure time to be spent in new seaside resorts like Blackpool and Brighton. The ill also visited these places to soak in their therapeutic inlets, spas and tidal pools. The crowds that flocked to the Great Exhibition of 1851 had shown that leisure was profitable, with English travel agent, Thomas Cook, organising his first trip to Ireland in 1849. By the 1880s Cook owned booking offices in all its major

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17 Charles Bianconi set up his transport business in 1815 at Clonmel. Three horses pulled Bianconi cars capable of carrying up to sixteen passengers. By 1861 Bianconi cars employed 900 horses, serving twenty-three counties and travelling over 4,000 miles daily.
destinations, organising the itinerary of British and American tourists, eager to see picturesque scenery.20 This international interest had fed the commercial mass-market for landscape photography, taken with affordable miniature cameras more technically advanced than earlier models. Photographs became the latest addition to local souvenir industries, which had long thrived at Irish scenic spots like Killarney.21

This busy location was one of the first Irish towns to establish a successful souvenir industry, where furniture inlaid with local woods like yew and arbutus were regularly sold to wealthy English tourists.22 An unimpressed Thomas Carlyle called it a ‘chaos of hungry porters, inn agents … [and] beggars’ that swarmed about visitors ‘like ravenous dogs around carrion.’23 In 1845 English journalist, Thomas Campbell Foster, noted how Killarney with its pained civility and extortionate prices was now indistinguishable from every other resort he had visited.24 Three years earlier Thackeray had struggled to find accommodation during the town’s annual race meeting, observing how the stands erected for the event quickly filled with thousands of people, a volume so great he wished for a camera to take a daguerreotype of the lively crowd rather than the sketchbook and pencil he always had on him.25 Thackeray’s reference to early photography is significant for anticipating its later function in providing a visual narrative to traveller’s journeys that was only becoming apparent as he wrote on the eve of the Famine.

Inevitably, the social conditions precipitating this catastrophe received detailed attention from travel writers. In 1829 the author of *A picturesque tour through Ireland*, highlighted the large number of landlords absent from estates left in the care of rapacious middlemen, ‘to whom the condition of the people is of little or no value, provided he can wring out of them the fortune he generally makes in a few short years.’ Small tenant

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22 Horgan, *The Victorian visitor*, p. 49.
farmers were described as being equally exploitive, charging their labourers two guineas for wretched cabins barely worth forty shillings. Thomas Campbell Foster criticised primitive Irish farming techniques, stating that if Irish farmers had the same intelligence in cultivating their land as their English counterparts then they would easily double their output: ‘The whole knowledge of the Irish peasant, however, seems only to extend to throwing the seed on the land, with some loose soil over it, and manure, if he has it; the rest he leaves to nature.’ Foster blamed Irish landlords for failing to educate their tenants in modern farming techniques – the latter only too aware that any domestic improvement would inevitably lead to a rent increase. During his tour, Thackeray confessed to being tormented by the withered faces of starving people he met in southwest Ireland. In 1847 Quaker relief worker, William Bennett, described the misery inside a Connacht cabin where he witnessed three huddling children dying together from hunger. That same year English philanthropist, James Hack Tuke, noted the recent death toll for parts of Mayo had reached thousands with multitudes more leaving the land forever. Another appalled observer concluded that despite Ireland’s beautiful scenery, he would never be able to wipe from memory all the ghastly pictures of death he had seen on his countrywide tour in 1844.

Conveying Ireland’s economic plight to readers, Carlyle likened the country to one huge beggar’s coat – ‘not patched or patchable any longer: far from a joyful or beautiful spectacle.’ He derived this visual metaphor from the beggar-gangs who notoriously wandered in to towns like Killarney, petitioning alms from sympathetic tourists. A visitor here chided his fellow visitors for their ‘indiscriminate benevolence’, encouraging such idleness. Johann Georg Kohl remarked how some of the ‘comically dressed beggars’ he met in Ireland, reminded him ‘of certain characters of Walter Scott’s novels.’ Kohl’s urge to regard mendicants as living examples of stage Irish characters

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26 Dennis Sullivan. *A picturesque tour through Ireland, illustrated with numerous coloured views of the most interesting scenery* (London, 1824), pp 1-12.
27 Foster, *Letters on the condition*, p. 52.
29 Thackeray, *The Irish sketchbook*, pp 83-84.
32 Hopper, *The tourist’s gaze*, p. 98.
reached its apotheosis in Bantry, when he met a female beggar making her way along the beach one evening: ‘Her business for the day was over; and although she still wore the costume of her part, the play was ended, she had left the stage, and was now returning homewards.’35

Many travellers considered the Irish peasantry’s shredded clothes remarkable for their ability to remain intact when working outdoors.36 Kohl himself considered Irish peasant costume ludicrous because it appeared to imitate late eighteenth-century gentlemanly attire: ‘With this coat Paddy wears short knee breeches, with stockings and shoes, so that, as far as the cut of his clothes is concerned, he appears always in full dress like a rale gentleman. Now it is impossible that a working-man could select a costume more unsuitable to him, or more absurd to look upon.’37 Other contemporary accounts reveal their writers’ surprise at seeing peasant labourers wearing almost their complete wardrobe when working outdoors. Mairead Dunleavy suggested that this habit may be explained by a pride that was equated with wealth and an imagined distancing from obvious signs of poverty.38

Another aspect of Irish peasant life that drew the attention of early nineteenth-century travellers was its apparent lack of hygiene. On entering a peasant cottage during the Mayo leg of his journey, Thomas Campbell Foster noted how the children all rolled ‘about on the mud floor, made damp and filthy by the feet of the ducks and pigs, and nothing can exceed their ragged, dirty, and lost appearance, unless it be the forlorn aspect of their bare-footed mother.’39 The presence of livestock indoors also appalled Kohl, who observed how common it was for poor Irish families to share their homes with ‘well fed, oily’ pigs that were later sold to pay the rent during periodic bad harvests.40 Such unclean habits equally puzzled Thackeray who surmised that

People need not be dirty if they are ever so idle; if they are ever so poor, pigs and men need not live together. Half an hours work, and digging a trench, might remove that filthy dunghill from that filthy window … I hope that the excellent Father Mathew has

38 Dunlevy, *Dress in Ireland*, p. 139.
succeeded in arraying his clergy to work with him in the abolition of drunkenness, they will attack the monster Dirt with the same goodwill, and surely the same success.41

From the 1840s onwards, travellers increasingly used racial language to describe Ulster’s distinctiveness from the rest of Ireland. Arriving in the province by train, Thackeray noted how the physiognomy of the majority Protestant population looked different from the Catholic south: ‘The people’s faces are sharp and neat, not broad, lazy, knowing looking, like that of many a shambling Diogenes who may be seen lounging before his cabin in Cork or Kerry.’42 Thomas Campbell Foster also shared this view: ‘I think [travellers to] be convinced that race has more to do with the distinguishing characteristics of Ulster than either politics and religion.’43 In 1860 the Reverend Charles Kingsley was disturbed by the primitive ‘human chimpanzees’ he saw along a remote road in county Sligo, because it presented the possibility that their shared skin pigment made them part of the same white race.44 British travel writers associated Ulster’s industrial towns with their own urban centres, evoking an experience different from the rest of Ireland. The early mechanisation of the Ulster linen industry had resulted in thriving manufacturing towns like Belfast, whose spinning mills were described by one as, ‘hot with steam, buzzing and humming with hundreds of thousands of whirling wheels.’45 The constant tension between Ulster’s Catholics and Protestants was also noted, with visitors sometimes caught up in sectarian conflict. In 1886 Englishman, Arthur Bennett, was visiting the Catholic Falls Road when Belfast erupted in the worst sectarian rioting it had ever experienced. He and his guide watched a Protestant incursion from nearby Shankhill being repulsed by armed locals. Reinforcements from other Protestant areas brought the conflict to streets and alleys, until the army intervened and pushed the rioters back to their respective neighbourhoods where soldiers were chanted at before returning to barracks.46

41 Thackeray, *The Irish sketchbook*, pp 135-36.
42 Ibid., pp 302-03.
43 Foster, *Letters on the condition*, p. 44.
45 Thackeray, *The Irish sketchbook*, pp. 308-09.
46 Hopper, *The tourist’s gaze*, pp 146-47.
For one tourist Ireland’s rural unrest provided a novel way to admire the landscape. In 1882 Englishman, James Leigh Jones, was en route from Westport to Ballinasloe when he noticed a heavy police presence on the platforms of stations located in reportedly peaceful districts. Unlike earlier paintings of Irish scenery, he suggested that no artistic production could accurately depict the country, ‘unless the finest house in the foreground is a police barracks and the landscape is well peopled with constables.’  

Several days later while delayed at Limerick Junction, Jones went to view a local eviction. There he noticed a cordon of constabulary around a land-agent arguing with a tenant, pleading unsuccessfully for more time to pay his arrears. As the bailiffs began moving furniture out of the house several neighbours arrived to pay the debt, avoiding a potential clash between police and massing locals. Afterwards at Killarney Jones discovered many hotel owners angered by its tourist industry’s sudden collapse, following recent violence on the Kenmare estate that had frightened holidaymakers away. This was partly the result of high circulation pictorials like *The Graphic* sending artists to Ireland to capture events. As well as using stage Irish tropes to spark its imagery, *The Graphic* also imaginatively reconstructed sensational ambushes on landowners to increase sales.

‘The Assassination of Mrs. Smythe’ (Fig. 3.1), published in an 1882 edition shows a frantic horse and carriage sniped at by a party of moonlighters on a lonely bend of country road. Their intended target is elsewhere; his wife’s death as yet unknown to them. *The Graphic* reported: ‘As the carriage was passing [the assassins] fired three shots almost simultaneously, one of which lodged in Mrs. Smythe’s head, the left side of which was completely shattered.’ This attack took place near Mullingar, Co. Westmeath and had ‘intensified the alarm, horror and indignation with which all prejudicial people regard the state of Ireland.’ Barlow Smythe’s fraught relationship with his tenants was speculated to have provoked the ambush and he announced afterwards that he regarded most of them as accessories to murder. A similar incident occurred in Castleisland, Co. Kerry, when a local land agent, Mr. Herbert, was shot dead by ‘a rifle bullet through the right lung’ that killed him as he was walking home from court one evening. Herbert

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48 Ibid., pp. 102-09.
opposed the Land League and had recently evicted tenants from his property, becoming the latest victim in a cycle of violence fast spiralling out of control.\textsuperscript{49}

In an effort to manage the situation, the Royal Irish Constabulary were ordered as security to landlords and their families.\textsuperscript{50} With the police presence on the Irish landscape growing ever more pervasive, \textit{The Graphic} published a cartoon montage in 1880 that showed Ireland’s slide to having martial law imposed a year later. ‘Irish Constabulary Sketches’ (Fig. 3.2) shows law enforcement scenes from across the country, including a Dublin ‘polisman’ monitoring an unidentified parade passing below Nelson’s Pillar on Sackville Street. Another depicts a group of officers standing at the back of a packed courtroom convulsed with laughter at some unseen stage-Irish antics beyond the frame. The two larger illustrations further down the page show the police enacting their more controversial duties under individual subheadings. In ‘Falling in for Eviction Duty’ an officer assembles his men on the lawn outside their reinforced barracks, whose metal shutters have gun openings for use during a siege. Not all of the constables are needed and one sits on a bench observing his colleagues while reading an illustrated newspaper that the artist ‘VR’ might self reflexively intend to be the \textit{Graphic}. Ominously watching the drill are local passers-by including a cloaked colleen and a jaunting car passenger moving slowly past. The rough topography suggests a west coast landscape, in the middle of which stands a distant cottage, the party’s possible objective. Below this is another large sketch entitled ‘An Irish Landlord’s Constitutional’, where a threatened proprietor walks through a menacing Irish landscape escorted by three armed constables scanning it for danger. Their upright postures contrast to the slouching landlord who is now under siege from his tenants, risking attack on his own property. In front of him, on the distant hill, stands a ruined keep, the abode of his native predecessors, who were cannonaded into relinquishing the land he now walks. It is a picturesque reminder of disturbed domesticity. It might also be an artistic conceit, reflecting the evictions taking place elsewhere on the doomed estate.

Underpinning the police surveillance of the Irish landscape was the 1881 Protection of Property (Ireland) Act, which permitted the photographic observation of

\textsuperscript{49} \textit{The Graphic}, 15 Apr. 1882.
\textsuperscript{50} Comerford, ‘The politics of distress’, pp 46-49.
those suspected of agrarian crime.\textsuperscript{51} Commercial photographs provided an alternative interpretation of the land war through images of destroyed homes and ejected tenants. From 1890 onwards William Lawrence used this ‘emotive register of victims’ to sell a range of photographs at home and abroad. His set of sixty eviction scenes showing expulsions from all over the country sold in large quantities, twenty-one of which were from the large Vandeleur estate in county Clare. In July 1888, a large number of evictions occurred there after tenant resistance was suppressed.\textsuperscript{52} The \textit{Graphic} depicted a battering ram (transported from Dublin) smashing homes, adding to the repository of images that reinforced Ireland’s dangerous reputation. The settling of an uneasy peace over the countryside would be capitalised upon during the next decade: by then the \textit{New Ireland Review} felt it could urge British tourists to return without fear of being murdered by gorilla-faced natives.\textsuperscript{53}

Over the next thirty-years government scrutiny of the Irish population steadily increased through Kodak cameras that were carried inside the plain clothes of special branch officers. In 1903 Irish chief secretary George Wyndham (1863-1913) was questioned in parliament if there was truth to the allegation that covert policing in Ireland indiscriminately watched people in the streets of cities and towns, recording visually identifiable lists of suspects archived in Dublin for future reference. Wyndham stated that such snap-shots were only aimed at certain individuals known to the constabulary.\textsuperscript{54} Two years earlier Mr. Murphy, nationalist M.P. for Kerry East, had asked Wyndham if he would ‘give directions to the police authorities at Queenstown and elsewhere to desist from asking the names and examining the persons and luggage of [American] visitors under the pretext of searching for arms.’ A boat race between Dublin and Pennsylvania universities had been scheduled for the following summer on the Lakes of Killarney; Murphy was concerned that American tourists would be unduly harassed upon landing. Wyndham denied the police routinely inconvenienced any such visitors, or examined their luggage without permission. However, it was true that the constabulary politely

\textsuperscript{52} Cullen, ‘Marketing national sentiment’, pp 163-64.
\textsuperscript{54} \textit{Hansard} 4 (Commons) cxxiv, c1528 (07 July 1903); \textit{Hansard} 4 (Commons) cxxxv, c785, (06 June 1904).
asked incoming tourists at Queenstown to identify themselves and their destination. This practice had existed for many years, with most providing the information willingly.\footnote{Hansard 4 (Commons) xcv, c66 (11 June 1901).} An article in the American periodical, \textit{The Living Age}, criticised Irish-American tourists who took a ‘wild and absorbing interest in local politics’. It claimed that it was their direct influence that separated a ‘well-ordered community’ from a place going, with vicious abandon, ‘straight to the devil.’\footnote{The Living Age, Vol. 199, No. 2582 (30 Dec. 1893), p. 782.} By 1914, at the height of the third Home Rule crisis, allegations of increased government surveillance resurfaced in the \textit{Sunday Independent}, which inaccurately reported that 25,000 rifles for the Irish Volunteers had been landed on the Kerry coast. The county was reportedly full of special branch officers, monitoring the movements of vacationing Irish-Americans.\footnote{Sunday Independent, 12 July 1914.} One contemporary American tourist was shocked at how many police he saw walking in pairs along lonely, wet mountain roads, empty of any shelter except the wooden shack that was their barracks, overlooking anything moving in the wild valleys below them.\footnote{B. E. Stevenson, \textit{The charm of Ireland}, (London 1915) p. 328. (Hereafter: Stevenson, \textit{The charm of Ireland}).}

\textbf{THE IRISH TOURIST ASSOCIATION AND POSTCARDS, 1895-1914}

At the 1894 Irish Hotel and Restaurant Proprietors Association meeting in Dublin on developing Irish tourism, suggestions were made to market Irish scenery to a travelling public not yet familiar with its beauty. One member recommended that hoteliers provide shared transport to their bookings from the nearest train station, all-inclusive for a reasonable price: to generate more business and a hospitable reputation. Another delegate advocated a sustained advertising campaign that would distribute illustrated posters and cheap guidebooks to the public rooms of British hotels.\footnote{G. Hall, ‘The tourist in Ireland’ in \textit{New Ireland Review}, Vol. III (Apr. 1895), pp 151-155.}

The following year the Irish Tourist Association was formed as a non-sectarian organisation to promote Ireland abroad while developing its tourist facilities to entice visitors.\footnote{Irish Times, 16 May 1896; Southern Star, 23 May 1896; Ibid., 6 June 1896; \textit{The Times}, 25 June 1896.} This would result in, it was hoped, the opening of ‘a much wider field’ of opportunity for seasonal workers, hotel owners and trades people who might attend to the
needs of visitors. One of its founders was Englishman, Frederick Crossley, who published a monthly photographic magazine called *The Irish Tourist.* Formerly manager of Thomas Cook’s Dublin office, his periodical’s first editorial stated its intention to use Ireland’s scenery to attract large numbers of tourists, whose expenditure, it was envisaged, would ‘act as the panacea for [the country’s] ills.’ In 1896 he attended a promotional meeting of the association at the Imperial Institute in London, where the *Irish Times* reported that the many Irish politicians present agreed on the ‘necessity of Irishmen of all creeds and all schools of political thought standing shoulder to shoulder in the effort to obtain for their country its fair and due share of the patronage of tourists.’ Nationalist MP, John Redmond, urged British tourists to do a patriotic service to their sister island by revisiting its struggling resorts as they had done prior to the land war.

This new organisation drew the support of *The Times*, which viewed it as an unprecedented opportunity to develop Ireland’s economy while uniting it more closely with Britain after a decade of almost continuous agrarian unrest. The paper, however, blamed proverbial Irish lethargy for failing to professionalize Ireland’s tourist industry sooner, indicting all its classes in this glaring lack of enterprise. The *Southern Star* agreed, describing the association as a bold, if late, attempt to do for Irish tourism what had long been ‘done for the Scottish Highlands, the English lakes, the Swiss Mountains and the distant Norwegian Fjords.’ Ireland’s ongoing failure to advertise its ‘inexhaustible wealth of scenic attractions’ had allowed these ‘more enterprising peoples’ to attract a majority of the remunerative tourist traffic no longer willing to stay at locations with poor hotels. Switzerland, in particular, had benefited from ‘tourist gold’,

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61 *The Times*, 29 May 1896. The 1890s also saw the creation of the Irish Sporting Agency, for fishing and shooting along the lines of those in the hands of Scottish entrepreneurs since the 1840s.
64 *Irish Times*, 25 June 1896.
65 *The Times*, 19 Aug. 1905.
66 Ibid., 25 June 1896.
67 *Southern Star*, 1 June 1895.
which had crowded its railways ‘and stimulated and supported a hundred inter-dependent industries.’

A few months later, however, the Irish press appeared frustrated at the organisation’s perceived inactivity in promoting Ireland internationally, unlike other regions of the United Kingdom whose attractions were ‘fully set out on innumerable hoardings, and whose hotel accommodation is … detailed in hundreds of guide books.’ Aside from Killarney and the Giant’s Causeway, most English tourists were unaware of the beautiful scenery found in other Irish counties because of the association’s ignorance of proper advertising techniques. The Irish Times stated that similar movements in Sweden and Germany had recently published booklets with numerous illustrations, accompanied by local information and itineraries designed to ease the journey of tourists. As yet, Ireland had nothing comparable with these countries and the paper questioned the ability of the Irish Tourist Association to deliver on its promises.

Even as such doubts were being raised, the Association was in fact formulating a feasible method of advertising Ireland’s scenery to the public. In 1896 it mounted a photographic exhibition of landscapes and archaeological sites at the Photographic Society of Ireland’s rooms at Dawson Street, Dublin. Most were of unknown beauty spots that amateur photographers submitted in the hope of winning the £25 prize for best image. The exhibition remained open for several weeks in order to familiarise Dubliners ‘with the natural beauties of their own country, which has until recently received so much less than a due share of attention from tourists at home and abroad.’ This event followed on from the city’s hosting of the Photographic Convention of Great Britain two years earlier, when amateur photographers from both islands had visited Wicklow and the Boyne Valley to photograph each district’s antiquities. In 1897 Association member and vice president of the Royal Society of Antiquaries in Ireland, Mr. S.F. Milligan published three illustrated handbooks for tourists that Irish railway companies distributed free in England. An English railway company also distributed editions of Frederick

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69 Ibid., 6 June 1896.
70 *Irish Times*, 30 July 1897.
71 Ibid., 8 Jan. 1896.
72 Ibid., 5 Feb. 1896.
73 Chandler and Walsh, *Through the brass etc*, p. 41; *Irish Times*, 11 July 1894; Ibid., 14 July 1894.
Crossley’s *Visit Ireland* at stations across Britain, sending extra copies to its Brussels branch to entice Americans to return home from Europe via Ireland.\textsuperscript{74} In 1901 *The Times* reported that another tourist bureau in Paris had recently popularised Ireland as a holiday destination in Europe by making its natural beauties known across the continent. As a result ‘organized parties of Frenchmen, Germans, Austrians, and Italians’ had visited the country for the first time and their enjoyment had encouraged others to follow them, including elusive British tourists.\textsuperscript{75}

By 1898, it seemed that picturesque photographs of Irish scenery had convinced a notable number to visit. The *Manchester Guardian* reported that until recently most English people believed a trip to Ireland would be dangerous, but Londoners were now rushing to every resort on the ‘Green Island’, lured by the images of the free Irish Tourist Association guidebooks in circulation around the capital.\textsuperscript{76} The *New Ireland Review* only welcomed this British invasion from an economic perspective: ‘The British tourist … is welcomed …. on account of the money he disburses so freely, but spending apart, he is not spoken of, at least behind his back, either tenderly or respectfully.’\textsuperscript{77} A year later the *Irish Times* reported a hundred per cent increase in British visitors during the previous holiday season, disclosing how English journals were increasingly covering Irish attractions.\textsuperscript{78}

Seeking royal patronage of its activities, in 1897 the Irish Tourist Association presented the visiting Duke of York with a photographic album of Irish scenery as a gift for his mother, Queen Victoria. He accepted the album, which included a hundred photographs from the studios of both William Lawrence and Robert Welch.\textsuperscript{79} Reports of ‘magnificent popular ovations’ given to him in previously disturbed parts of western Ireland, led the *Irish Times* to herald the beginning of ‘a new era in the history of relations between England and Ireland and between the Irish people and the Royal family.’\textsuperscript{80} Two years later the Association organised a parliamentary tour of Ireland in

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\textsuperscript{74} *Irish Times*, 8 Apr. 1898; Ibid., 24 Mar. 1899.
\textsuperscript{75} *The Times*, 20 Aug. 1901.
\textsuperscript{76} As quoted in *The Irish World*, 17 Sept. 1898.
\textsuperscript{78} *Irish Times*, 20 Sept. 1899.
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid., 8 May 1897; Ibid., 30 Aug. 1897.
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid., 2 Sept. 1897.
the hope that a ‘further impetus [would] be given to touring.’ The *Irish Times* expected that the British M.P.s would return home, convinced that Ireland was the most beautiful part of the United Kingdom, encouraging others to visit.\(^{81}\) Their endorsement of Ireland was noted in British newspapers, where at least one honourable member vouched for his excellent accommodation.\(^{82}\) Another, J. Benjamin Stone of Birmingham, took his Kodak camera with him, photographing turf-cutters, schoolchildren and peasant girls as part of a proposed collection of images that would depict a homogenous British culture.\(^{83}\)

George Eastman’s contemporary invention of the Kodak pocket sized camera had created a revolution on the premise that almost anyone could now take a picture.\(^{84}\) Prior to this cameras had been unwieldy to use and too expensive for anyone outside of the middle and upper-classes to afford.\(^{85}\) In 1894 the *Irish Times* reported that Kodak cameras had been among the equipment used by the Photographic Convention excursionists in the Boyne Valley: ‘Monsterboice was reached some time before noon, and Kodaks, hand stand and stereoscopic cameras were produced and placed in position with marvellous rapidity before the beautiful ninth century Celtic crosses, which adorn this ancient burying place.’\(^{86}\) By 1907 the same paper was inviting commissions from the public of ‘photographs illustrating current events, and of interesting places or objects.’\(^{87}\) Photography was now so ubiquitous that a writer for *Irish Society* described it the new ‘power of the world, the factor which dominates humanity.’\(^{88}\) Early printed Kodak advertisements instilled the notion that company cameras were essential kit for holidaymakers: they would spur the creation of a popular photographic culture that would usher in the era of visual travelogues that Thackeray had inadvertently predicted over sixty years before.\(^{89}\)

\(^{81}\) *Irish Times*, 8 May 1899.
\(^{82}\) *The Times*, 27 Aug. 1901.
\(^{83}\) Maggie Burns, ‘Ireland in Birmingham’ in Breathnach, *Framing the west*, pp 64-68.
\(^{85}\) Chandler and Walsh, *Through the brass etc*, p. 36.
\(^{86}\) *Irish Times*, 11 July 1894.
\(^{87}\) *Weekly Irish Times*, 20 Apr. 1907.
\(^{89}\) *The Times*, 03 Apr. 1906. Another Kodak advertisement in *The Times* from 1908 stated that: ‘A holiday without a Kodak is only half a holiday.’
Spurgeon Thompson’s study of approximately one hundred Irish travel books, printed primarily in England between 1900 and 1914, has revealed the prevalence of photography in all these publications. The medium’s growing ubiquity in travel writing ‘challenged the limits of the genre and at the same time reinforced with visual, documentary authority the range of stereotypes that had long been travel writing’s signature.’ Such images were significant for tourism because people could now anticipate destinations in advance of any visit and offer an unprecedented guarantee of ‘product reliability’ by acting as ‘truthful’ advertising. In Ireland’s case pictures of cottages, donkeys, archaeological sites, picturesque landscapes and people, underlined what was ‘typical’ and created a brand for the country. Photographs assured potential tourists that Ireland was exactly what travel writers said it was, converting its people into ‘objects, not subjects of history.’90 Exposure to these representations shaped popular perceptions of the country and directed the tourist gaze to replicate photographs identical to those found in contemporary Irish travel books.91 Photography thus facilitated in the propagation of new interpretations of established Irish stereotypes that, in the improved political context of the early 1900s, might be benign rather than derogatory.

Scotland had undergone a similar process sometime before. During the 1850s, Queen Victoria’s favourite photographer, George Washington Wilson, had marketed the country as a romantic destination of ruined castles and historic battle sites, divorced from its reality as the world’s second most industrialised region. Imitators of his style included Dundee-based James Valentine (1815-79) who later became one of Britain’s largest picture postcard manufacturers.92 In Ireland Frederick Holland Mares produced the most comprehensive and best-known collection of scenic views prior to William Lawrence entering the trade in 1870. His images depicted Ireland as a sublime country of misty ruins that ultimately formalised the tropes in its depiction.93 Later photographers like Robert French (working for Lawrence) and Robert Welch continued to frame their scenes

91 Caton and Santos, ‘Closing the hermeneutic circle?’, p. 8.
92 Normand, ‘Imagining and imaging the land’, pp 136-38.
93 Chandler and Walsh, Through the brass etc, pp 34-35. Frederick Holland Mares also exhibited photographs of Irish scenery at the 1865 Dublin International Exhibition – the most extensive yet seen in Ireland.
accordingly. The peak of Welch’s career coincided with the revival of tourism to Ireland with many of his photographs bought for publication in Irish Tourist Association guides distributed abroad, or else used as posters in train carriages and the busy saloons of transatlantic liners. In 1903 one English railway company bought 150 Welch photographs for use in a special illustrated guide aimed at attracting Americans to Ireland. One such visitor was B.E. Stevenson, who a few years later traversed the country with his Kodak camera, using its images as accompanying illustrations to the text of his planned Irish travel book.

Irish periodicals like the *Illustrograph* and Crossley’s *Irish Tourist* also included images of the contemporary tourist experience, annually running amateur competitions for the best summer photograph. Over the latter’s five-year run an increasing volume of advertising was printed, mainly giving fares for railway and steam packet companies. It also published articles that attempted to divert the tourist gaze away from the grim realities of Irish life by reinterpreting the ragged clothes of street children as a sign of independence rather than one of harsh poverty. This acute sensitivity also extended to publishing complimentary letters from English tourists praising Irish hospitality for prompting them to reappraise their prejudices. Crossley encouraged tourists to regard Ireland as ‘one great holiday centre,’ where any experience that seemed to validate derogatory opinions about the country might be fairly answered.

In 1907 Crossley started a campaign to allow local authorities to raise advertising revenue to promote their beauty spots. He wrote to Chief Secretary Birrell informing him that the Local Government Board was disposed to view favourably his proposal that a clause be inserted in the next Local Government Amendment Act, conferring powers on public authorities to expend money ‘for the purpose of developing the tourist resources of their respective districts.’ His successful lobbying led to the 1909 Health Resorts

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95 Vivienne Pollack, ‘“All in a day’s work.”’ Robert John Welch and his world’ in Breathnach, *Framing the West*, p. 13. (Hereafter: Pollack, ‘All in a Day’s Work’).
98 *The Irish tourist*, Vol. 7 No. 2. (1900), p. 29.
100 *Freeman’s Journal*, 12 Nov. 1909.
101 *The Times*, 08 Nov. 1907.
(Ireland) Bill, giving rural and urban councils a power that no equivalent authority in Britain enjoyed, apart from Blackpool.\textsuperscript{102} Crossley pointed out that the measure now enabled localities to ally with neighbours for collective advertising purposes that would result in more visitors for all.\textsuperscript{103} The Local Government Board’s eventual objection to this initiative perplexed him, especially since it would have allowed more cash-strapped local authorities a financially viable way of promoting their attractions.\textsuperscript{104} The issue was raised in the House of Lords, where one peer defended this pooling of resources for the same reason. Objecting, the Earl of Onslow called Ireland ‘the spoilt child of Parliament’ in receipt of bills making ‘the mouths of Englishmen and Scotsmen water.’ He conjectured that further government support for the Irish tourist industry would inevitably modernise resorts like Killarney, introducing undesirable changes that would reduce their quaint appeal for visitors.\textsuperscript{105}

During the early 1900s the town’s tourist industry had began to recover from its decline with record numbers of holidaymakers visiting – the majority bookings through Thomas Cook, who had gained enormous influence over local jarveys and boatmen desperate for work.\textsuperscript{106} Killarney also developed a small local picture postcard industry, based around the photographic studio of Louis Anthony, who supplied prints of local scenery to William Lawrence in Dublin.\textsuperscript{107} In 1907 a tourist, Plummer F. Jones noted how his fellow passengers for a jaunt round the lakes included Americans and some fashionable English and Irishmen, all expecting a picturesque feast of purple hills and steel grey waters while coming through the Gap of Dunloe.\textsuperscript{108} Later that afternoon he met two young policemen outside a pharmacy in the town, who told him about the few arrests they had made in the years since law and order had returned to the area.\textsuperscript{109} The only exception had been 1901, when rival political factions had clashed in the streets. The contest between the local nationalist and unionist candidates for election to the county

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{102} Connacht Tribune, 15 Jan. 1910.
\item \textsuperscript{103} Freeman’s Journal, 12 Nov. 1909.
\item \textsuperscript{104} Ibid.; Irish Independent, 26 Apr. 1910.
\item \textsuperscript{105} Hansard 5 (Lords), iv, cc1-11 (19 October 1909).
\item \textsuperscript{106} Stevenson, The charm of Ireland, pp 177-78.
\item \textsuperscript{107} Ibid., p. 183; Horgan, The Victorian visitor, p. 86.
\item \textsuperscript{108} Plummer F. Jones, Shamrock land: a ramble through Ireland, (New York, 1908), pp 61-64. (Hereafter: Jones, Shamrock land).
\item \textsuperscript{109} Ibid., p. 69.
\end{itemize}
council turned violent, damaging buildings that made one visitor think the place depressing.110

These new authorities originated in the 1898 Local Government Act, which established this nationwide system of local representation as part of the more general policy of constructive unionism.111 Between 1895 and 1905, the Conservative administration adopted a pragmatic series of legislative responses to Irish political problems in order to wean the majority of the population away from supporting Home Rule. This process culminated in the establishment of a Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland in 1899, followed by the Wyndham Land Act of 1903 that facilitated tenant purchase to create a class of small farm owners.112 Wyndham also believed that the active promotion of native organisations like the Irish Tourist Association would strengthen government control in Ireland, ending rural discontent amongst the Irish population.113

Young ministers like David Lloyd George, in the new Liberal administration after 1906, succeeded in keeping Ireland down the political agenda by concentrating on popular social reform, rather than suffering the ignominy of having yet another Home Rule bill vetoed in the House of Lords. Unable to deliver an Irish parliament, nationalist politicians supported this legislation because it allowed them to defend the legitimacy of constitutional nationalism against the rising threat of Sinn Féin and its policy of a possible threat of abstention.114 These new bills included a Workman’s Compensation Act (1906) and an Old Age Pensions Act (1908); the latter bestowing a weekly sum of five shillings to all persons over the age of seventy with an annual income under £26.115

This allowance was collected at post offices like that of the one in Clondalkin visited by B.E. Stevenson, who witnessed the postmistress advance an old lady four

pennies, because her pension was not enough to last out the week. Later, while sending a postcard to his family back home in the United States, he noticed the post office’s importance as a telegraph centre and deliverer of parcels to the community, a living hive of activity with locals constantly entering and exiting. Stevenson included a montage of these images in his travel book published in 1915, in which he showed the evolution of the traditional jaunting car from a primitive drag to the contemporary version with its refined rubber tires.116 It might have offered a riposte to an Irish critic of the vehicle, who complained that a typical trip involved travelling in a collapsing car driven by a taxing jarvey eager to be entertaining.117

A contemporary postcard published by William Lawrence entitled ‘Botherin’ a Tourist’ (Fig. 3.3), shows the jarvey’s reputed penchant for playing the stage Irishman to a group of tourists visiting Sackville Street in Dublin. One asks him to identify the statues on the roof of the General Post Office, across from which Lawrence’s actual premises was located.118 The tourist’s prefacing of his question with the words ‘I say’, indicate that his nationality and class is that of an English bourgeois, brought to this spot by the guide he holds in his hands, which possibly describes it as the location of Nelson’s Pillar. Here power relations between the classes have been altered, as a proletarian shapes the conclusions drawn in appreciating the features of a particular destination.

For Michel Foucault, the question of power was not limited to institutions of economic significance, but also extended to the seemingly nonpolitical business and banter between tourists and locals.119 Building on this analysis historian, William Williams contends that the picturesque gaze disciplined the behaviour of Irish people living at contemporary tourist spots, internalising it to facilitate a repetition of stereotypes consistent with expectations about Irish character.120 Acting the Paddy for tourists allowed peasants to assert themselves while transcending barriers of nationality and class.121 This in turn shaped the structure of their exchanges, usually profiting the latter

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118 Chandler and Walsh, *Through the brass etc*, p. 34.
120 Williams, *Tourism, landscape etc*, p. 222.
121 Ibid., p. 70.
financially as a reward for entertainment. As a result many nineteenth-century travel accounts contain elements of stage Irish humour taken from purported dialogue between author and host. Much of the comedy centres on Paddy’s penchant for verbal confusion, ignoring the fact that Hiberno-English had its own unique pronunciation and meaning separate from other regional dialects of the United Kingdom.

In 1898 postal reformer, Henniker Heaton MP, began a campaign to allow local districts to apply photographs of beauty spots to their postcards, arguing that such images would result in a tourist boom, similar to what Germany and France were then experiencing. Authorisation from the Postmaster General was granted in 1902, leading Heaton to declare that: ‘There is no town, however small, within the three kingdoms, possessing even the most obvious apology for a real curiosity or ‘sight’, which does not transfer its ‘counterfeit presentment’ to a postcard which thus makes a cheap and most affective souvenir and in many cases advertisements.’ Soon seaside post-offices were overwhelmed by the volume of postcards passing across their counters. The Times reported that during the summer season Llandudno in Wales had stamped an average of 100,000 postcards a week. Similarly, a Scarborough dealer who had initially bought 100,000 cards found himself in the remarkable situation of having to constantly replenish his stock. According to The Times this deluge had taxed the resources of inland post-offices to their limits as ‘everybody’ was now collecting postcards of some kind.

A year later the Irish Times reported that ‘peat postcards’ – each carrying a figment of native turf – had become very popular in Ireland during the run-up to Christmas, being ‘particularly attractive to those having relatives abroad, where a “bit of the old country” … is sure to be welcomed.’ Ireland’s principal railway, the Great Southern and Western, hired successful English manufacturers, Raphael Tuck & Sons, to publish postcards of picturesque views along its routes, as well as others that showed older engines juxtaposed with its modern, more efficient models.

122 David Brett, The construction of heritage (Cork, 1996) p. 39; Williams, Tourism, landscape etc, pp. 68-69.
123 Williams, Tourism, landscape etc, p. 66.
124 The Times, 19 Aug. 1899.
125 Irish Times, 22 Aug. 1903.
126 Ibid., 29 Aug. 1903.
127 Ibid., 23 Dec. 1904.
128 Ibid., 25 May 1905
During the nineteenth century the expanding Irish railway network had speeded the regularity of postal deliveries. In 1898 the Dublin Chamber of Commerce wrote to the Postmaster General requesting an improvement to the Irish mail train, in order ‘to encourage strangers to visit Ireland’ by shortening the journey time from London. The initiative had the full backing of all its members, who supported the ‘high and wise policy’ of making Ireland the ‘tourland of Great Britain.’ \(^\text{129}\) During a parliamentary debate in August 1901, one nationalist M.P. asked the secretary for the treasury why the morning post in his constituency had recently been four hours late. It was explained that the principal cause of the delay had been heavy tourist traffic on the night mail train from London, which the railway company ‘found … necessary to run … to Holyhead in two parts, and as the mail packet [had] to await the arrival of the second part, it could not be dispatched until considerably after the appointed time.’ \(^\text{130}\) In order to accommodate increasing visitor numbers new connections between old railway systems were established, shortening journey times between London and Irish cities and towns. \(^\text{131}\)

In 1905 Thomas Cook advertised a weeklong package trip through Ulster for £6 7s 6d, including transport and accommodation, with the Irish Tourist Association reporting a related twenty-five per cent rise in visitors to the province. \(^\text{132}\) Mr. J. Moone, manager of Cook’s Dublin office, attributed this growth to the greater prosperity of Lancashire and Yorkshire cotton workers that year, which had patronised northern resorts in large numbers, willing to enjoy their money. \(^\text{133}\) That same year, 621 tourists from Manchester enjoyed a thirty-two hour return trip to Killarney courtesy of the Great Southern Railway Company, which also hired jaunting cars to convey guests to the lakes. A jubilant Irish Times declared that this successful excursion marked a new era in Irish tourism because it gave ‘wide scope to our railway and steam-packet companies in the matter of catering for cross-Channel visitors.’ \(^\text{134}\) Six years later the Great Western Railway of England introduced a Sunday night service between both islands and also issued weekly return

\(^\text{129}\) Irish Times 6 Apr. 1898.  
\(^\text{130}\) Hansard 4 (Commons) xcix, cc951-2 (15 Aug. 1901).  
\(^\text{131}\) The Times, 18 Aug. 1904.  
\(^\text{132}\) Ibid., 05 Aug. 1905; Ibid., 21 Aug. 1906  
\(^\text{133}\) Irish Independent, 17 Oct. 1905.  
\(^\text{134}\) Irish Times, 30 Aug. 1905.
tickets to any company station.  

By this time tourism’s importance to the Irish economy had become obvious to many business owners, who were sensitive of the impact any bad publicity could have on its growth. One such instance was in 1909 when the Irish Tourist Association announced that visitor numbers had declined somewhat in the wake of a nationwide anti-tuberculosis campaign by Lady Aberdeen and her Woman’s National Health Association. The *Irish Independent* claimed it was keeping nervous tourists out of Ireland and preventing Irish girls from getting work in England.  

The paper admitted that this was a small price to pay for eradicating the disease. Conflicting reports in the *Freeman’s Journal*, however, asserted that receipts for the Great Southern and Western Railway were actually up sixteen per cent on the previous year. In addition it carried a quote from Harrod’s department store in London, denying any reluctance to hire Irish girls and praising the large number it already employed. Thomas Cook also denied a drop in its Irish bookings, stating that the firm’s numbers were actually up; that year it had received 50,000 bookings for Killarney. The *Irish Independent* interviewed a visiting American woollen merchant, Mr. Sydney E. Shuman, who denied that Irish exports had waned in America, ridiculing ‘the rumour that American tourists hesitated to visit Ireland in view of the reported prevalence of tuberculosis in [the] country.’

**CRITICISM OF TOURISM**

In 1905 the *Irish Independent* reviewed the state of Irish tourism, affirming that unlike politics where there was permanent tension, the Irish Tourist Association provided a ‘curious instance of unison in disunion’, a place various interest groups were found working together to attract large numbers of British tourists. The *Irish Times* agreed: ‘from 1840 to 1890 no proper notice was taken of our tours as a proper resource … it is now our duty to speak of a revival. The country is no longer a place of strife. There are

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135 *Irish Times*, 30 Aug. 1911.
137 Ibid., 26 April 1909.
141 Ibid., 22 Aug. 1905.
other things to interest us than party feuds.’ Some, nationalists and unionists however, objected to tourism on the grounds that it was both degrading and servile for those earning a living from it. Nationalist author and journalist, DP Moran, was particularly critical of the tourist movement, regarding it as breeding rich and poor beggars, ‘products which, I need scarcely point out, do not tend to the glory or preservation of Ireland a Nation.’ For him mass tourism would merely encourage Paddy to play the stage Irish buffoon in a more ludicrous way for extra money. Former lord mayor of Belfast, W.J. Pirrie agreed, condemned the Irish tourist movement for attempting to turn Irishmen into servants of tourists for six months of the year and idlers at home for the rest. The Gaelic League complained that a large influx of foreigners would corrupt the nobility of the Irish peasant, a view that rankled Crossley who mocked it as an alliance barring foreigners from entering the hallowed ground of Irish Ireland, communicating with the masses exclusively through ‘slavish twaddle.’

Another article in a 1908 issue of the New Ireland Review questioned Ireland’s ability to benefit from tourism, when Thomas Cook’s Irish hotel coupons were the firm’s most expensive for accommodation comprising of ‘pre-historic feather beds, leaking baths, feckless service and rapacious servants.’ Even railway company hotels – ‘lit electronically and warmed with hot pipes’ – were costlier than those in other countries, prompting many English tourists to visit continental Europe instead. The author also disputed the argument that tourism benefited local car drivers, guides and boatmen, especially since most local modes of transport belonged to greedy hoteliers, desiring a monopoly over tourist expenditure. He suggested that for Irish tourism to succeed then it must be conducted fairly and honestly, eventually leading to a rise in hotel standards and a matching drop in prices.

This critique prompted a reply from Crossley, who argued that the article’s syndication in several English newspapers harmed the carefully re-constructed image of Ireland his organisation had built up in the preceding decade. He contested the article’s claim that Ireland was an expensive tourist destination by citing the fruits of the Irish

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142 Irish Times 9 Sept. 1898.
143 Durie, ‘The need for legislation to promote tourism’, p. 197.
145 Irene Furlong, ‘Frederick W. Crossley’, p. 175.
Tourist Association in campaigning for cheaper travel. Moreover, Irish hotel standards had rapidly improved under the auspice of his organisation, ensuring that all classes left Ireland with fond memories of their visit. ¹⁴⁷ The Times concurred, stating that the Association had been instrumental in improving the standard of accommodation generally and providing hotels in needful resorts. ¹⁴⁸ Tumbledown inns were now unequivocally a thing of the past, while the growing professionalism of Irish tourism had resulted in transport to and from the country being cheapened and accelerated.¹⁴⁹ A similarly glowing assessment appeared in the pages of the Financial News, which announced that nothing in the travel world had been as phenomenal as Ireland’s recent growth into a modern holiday resort, catering for international tourists willing to spend money. In fact, formerly disturbed western areas were now the goal for ‘thousands of holiday makers in search of change and beauty’, brought there on trains travelling on new railway lines spreading across the countryside.¹⁵⁰

Not all tourists agreed. In comparison to his hotels in Dublin and Belfast, Plummer F. Jones, found rural hotels lacking in many respects: ‘Bathrooms are few and primitive beyond belief. Many of the smaller hotels are lighted with oil lamps or even with the old-fashioned tallow candles. One finds it difficult to have a fire kindled in one’s room, though it is often as cold and damp in Ireland in midsummer as it is in our country in April and November.’¹⁵¹ Leaving his carriage for a connecting train at another platform at Mallow station, B.E. Stevenson encountered five fellow Americans, also coming from Killarney, who complained about being held up by management in an establishment no different to ‘a den of thieves.’¹⁵² The Southern Star dismissed such complaints as typical of a people too used to modern conveniences, demanding electricity and telephones in any town they visited.¹⁵³

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¹⁴⁸ The Times, 04 Feb. 1902.
¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 14 Aug. 1905.
¹⁵⁰ Irish News, 15 June 1908.
¹⁵² Stevenson, The charm of Ireland, p. 204.
¹⁵³ Southern Star, 17 Mar. 1900.
Others were critical of Irish railway companies, outraged by their high prices and their exemption from regulation.\textsuperscript{154} In 1893 one traveller gave a damning verdict of Ireland’s rail network: ‘Every tourist returning from Ireland carries with him a recollection of the exorbitant charges, the ill-timed trains, the absurd absence of intelligent connections, which characterise the management of Irish railways.’\textsuperscript{155} Another writer complained about the absence of a dining car on the London to Dublin journey, depriving passengers of food until they reached the steamer at Hollyhead. British trains also had a higher standard of third class carriage than Irish locomotives, where the fumes of pungent tobacco poisoned the air for travellers.\textsuperscript{156} L. Paul Dubois detected a corporate strategy at play because of the increasing closeness between some English and Irish railway companies, with the ‘Great Southern and Western of Ireland … [now] more or less officially allied to the English Great Western.’ Ireland, he argued, provided these firms with an extra market and it was in their interest to keep tourist numbers flowing from Britain, especially on company lines connecting the two islands, thus making them ‘absolute masters of their trade.’\textsuperscript{157} Nationalist author George Russell despaired at this creeping Anglicisation: ‘Ireland Limited is being run by English syndicates. It is the descent of a nation into hell, not nobly, not as a sacrifice made for the great end, but ignobly and without the hope of resurrection.’\textsuperscript{158}

In his 1904 play, \textit{John Bull’s Other Island}, George Bernard Shaw addressed this issue with characteristic satire. Broadbent, the main English character, is part of a business syndicate wishing to develop the fictional Irish village of Rosscullen as a ‘garden city’ for tourists. His plan includes a building a polytechnic, a cricket club and a lucrative ‘golfing hotel’ that will stand beside the village’s restored round tower. As he explains to Keegan, the former local priest: ‘The syndicate is a perfectly respectable body of responsible men of good position. We’ll take Ireland in hand, and by straightforward business habits teach it efficiency and self help on sound Liberal principles.’ Keegan, however, is not entirely convinced and remarks that a golf links and hotel will merely

\textsuperscript{154} William Bulfin, \textit{Rambles in Eirinn} (Dublin, 1907), pp 16-25.  
\textsuperscript{155} \textit{The Living Age}, Vol. 199, No. 2582 (30 Dec 1893), p. 775.  
\textsuperscript{157} L. Paul Dubois, \textit{Contemporary Ireland} (Dublin, 1908), pp 327-31.  
‘bring idlers to a country which workers have left in millions because it is a hungry land, a naked land, an ignorant and oppressed land.’ He is also wary of the effects mass tourism may have on the local community, as well as suspecting Broadbent’s true motives:

our repaired Round Tower with admission six pence, and refreshments and penny-in-the-slot mutoscopes to make it interesting, then no doubt your English and American shareholders will spend all the money we make for them very efficiently in shooting and hunting, in operations for cancer and appendicitis, in gluttony and gambling; and you will devote what they save to fresh land development schemes.159

Other writers were similarly concerned about mass tourism’s capacity for environmental damage to the landscape. In 1905 William Bulfin was delighted to finally find a remote hill above Sligo with a view of Lough Gill that remained, as yet, unpolluted by train smoke or daubed in restaurant advertisements.160 By contrast George Russell was more concerned with English tourists defiling ancient ruins: ‘The shout of the cockney tourist sounds in the cyclopean crypts and mounds once sanctified by druid mysteries, and divine visitations, and passings from the mortal to the immortal.161 In 1908 one Irish writer was incensed to find a formerly remote scenic spot now largely frequented by British tourists, playing billiards and croquet against the backdrop of ‘heathery mountains’. In the local hotel register he gleaned that most had come from London, Manchester, Leeds and Glasgow, and wondered what the mountains had done to deserve having their sides flattened and rolled over by croquet balls. Even the locals had become more rapacious and were now only too willing to speak English rather than the Gaelic they had always conversed in before.162

American anthropologist, Dennison Nash, has argued that metropolitan centres have varying degrees of control over the nature of tourism and its development in peripheral regions. Interests originating in metropolitan centres generate a concept of what tourists require that the inhabitants of a tourist destination might cater for with varying degrees of enthusiasm. Touristic interests – whether economic, political, military

162 *The Peasant*, 22 Aug. 1908.
or religious – impose on the host society with various consequences. Where disparities of power are great, as in the early stages of colonialism, this can lead to prejudice by the colonisers and a variety of responses among the colonised. Nash contends that this power over touristic developments make metropolitan centres imperialistic, and tourism a form of imperialism.163

A contemporary example that illustrates Nash’s thesis may be found on an undated postcard from Killarney entitled, ‘Old Weir Bridge’, (Fig 3.4). In this image the eponymous viaduct is shown enclosed within a green frame of linking shamrocks presided over by Britannia in her incarnation as Pallas Athena, the Greek goddess of wisdom and civilisation.164 Britannia has pulled aside a Union Jack curtain to reveal the point at which the lake waters meet. Below are the words: ‘Britannia’s Realm’, emphasising her dominion over the Kingdom of Kerry and by extension Ireland. In addition her trident symbolises Britain’s naval power and empire, its juxtaposition close to the lake water emphasising its association with Neptune, the god of the sea, and his ceding of the oceans to a deserving successor. Pallas Athena’s association with civilisation is also significant implying, as it does, that Ireland’s opening up to tourism has finally made it an acceptable place to visit. As historian John M. Mackenzie puts it: ‘a fresh stage in the penetration of civilization [is] achieved with the arrival of tourists.’165

In the nineteenth century the public visibility of Athena increased during the reign of Queen Victoria.166 Consequently, this image also memorialises the monarch’s 1861 visit to Killarney, when, according to the Freeman’s Journal, a triple triumphal arch of evergreens and flowers greeted her on arrival at the Herbert demesne with the words ‘Cead mile fáilte’ (‘one hundred-thousand welcomes’).167

In 1896 when the Irish Tourist Association held its first meeting in Britain at the Imperial Institute, London, Queen Victoria had declared that she recognised it ‘as a

fitting symbol of the unity of empire.’ It would be a matter of the greatest satisfaction to her if the institute’s association of the various diverse countries under her rule should be the means of uniting them more closely. Her sentiment was driven home in a verse printed in the official programme accompanying the building’s opening three years earlier:

Till drawn together nearer they shall bind,
Close bonds of love for all of British blood,
then our broad subject realms in brotherhood,
Then our great alien kinsmen, heart and mind,
Then if heaven will, mankind.¹⁶⁸

The decision to unveil the newly formed Association at the physical and symbolic seat of empire placed Ireland and Irish tourism integrally within the imperial project. After years of agrarian unrest and the Irish Parliamentary party’s campaign for Home Rule, it implied that Ireland’s tourism would guarantee its loyalty to the United Kingdom, banishing calls for devolution. Although nationalist politicians attended the meeting and vocally supported its intention to enrich the country, those imperialists among them may not have immediately gleaned the larger meaning of the location they were in. Frederick Crossley was a committed unionist and pursued a relentless policy of securing state aid for Irish tourism. His success would seem to suggest that the British government saw its development as another extension of constructive unionism; a way to stave off the demand for Home Rule by ‘killing it with kindness.’

AMERICAN TOURISTS

In the decade before the First World War the Irish Tourist Association successfully attracted a growing number of American tourists to Ireland, using Lawrence and Welch photographs in guidebooks distributed free on ocean liners.¹⁶⁹ The fruits of this marketing only became apparent by 1900 when the *Southern Star* predicted that the coming summer would bring the largest influx of American tourists yet:

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¹⁶⁹ Irish Times, 05 Nov. 1904.
The visitors to Ireland from America this year are looking forward to their visit as more a curiosity than a pleasure, for somewhere that the country districts and many towns contain only half-civilised people is firmly fixed in the minds of some Americans, but they will not be long amongst us when they will understand how much they have been deceived.\textsuperscript{170}

In August 1906 it was reported that most of the ‘enormous numbers’ of Americans visiting that year were mainly ‘wealthy people’, accustomed to taking an annual holiday in Europe. This later changed to include second-class passengers, with one steamer alone landing 521 people at Queenstown.\textsuperscript{171} From here, Plummer F. Jones, found himself on a train to Cork, noticing how his compartment contained two Irish-American priests, a Baltimore man, and a local girl with a basket and ‘coal black hair’, quietly listening to their discussion. When it inevitably turned to events in America, Jones observed how she became more intensely interested in the topic of conversation, putting it down to some hidden hope of her own to emigrate and follow the thousands she had seen at the piers departing Ireland for good.\textsuperscript{172}

Between 1900 and 1910 Americans, of whom Irish-Americans formed the majority, outnumbered all other nationalities, except the British visiting Ireland.\textsuperscript{173} The notion that they could boost the country’s economy was taken very seriously by most of the business community, who were convinced their role as tourists might be expanded if they grasped the possibilities that investment in local industries offered. This was the view expressed to B.E. Stevenson by a Limerick tobacconist, who believed that Ireland’s material prosperity would grow once Home Rule was granted and the Sean Bhean Bhocht’s exiled children returned.\textsuperscript{174} In 1910 the United Tobacconists Association of Ireland issued a statement welcoming such visitors for their enlivening effect on trade and capacity to advertise Ireland as a friendly destination in America.\textsuperscript{175} That same year the Irish Home-Coming Association was formed to attract American capitalists to Ireland.\textsuperscript{176} Local apathy to the scheme however, drew criticism from the Association’s

\textsuperscript{170} \textit{Southern Star}, 17 Mar. 1900.
\textsuperscript{171} Ibid., 11 Aug. 1906; Ibid., 27 June 1908.
\textsuperscript{172} Jones, \textit{Shamrock land}, pp 16-17.
\textsuperscript{173} \textit{Irish Independent}, 29 Sept. 1906.
\textsuperscript{174} Stevenson, \textit{The charm of Ireland}, p. 216.
\textsuperscript{175} \textit{Freeman’s Journal}, 20 June 1910.
\textsuperscript{176} \textit{Irish Independent}, 9 Aug. 1910; \textit{Freeman’s Journal} 14 July 1910.
president, prompting a dismayed *Freeman’s Journal* to ask whether it was any wonder Irish-Americans holidayed in larger numbers at resorts across Europe, rather than in ‘the land of their fathers.’  

For those that did visit, the McKinley family cottage at Conagher, Co. Antrim, proved a popular attraction that was attributable to Robert Welch’s 1898 photograph of the structure being previously reproduced – at his estimation – a million times in various papers all over America. Clifton Johnson visited what was the ancestral home of U.S. President William McKinley (1843-1901) in 1900. For a payment to the owner he was admitted to a ‘primitive’ interior composed of a kitchen and living area with a stone floor that a baby crawled around, watched by a little girl washing dishes and a dishevelled woman attending a black pot over the peat fire warming the house. The owner informed him that one of McKinley’s ancestors had been hung from the rafters a century before for supporting the United Irishman rebellion.

Large public events also attracted American tourists. In 1907 a total of 1,300 disembarked from two ships at Queenstown, from whence they travelled directly to Dublin for its International Exhibition. This influx was widely noted in the capital:

Nobody who knows Dublin and walks about its streets at present can fail to be struck by the number of strangers who are making their welcome presence felt everywhere. There is, and has been for some time past, a great floating population in our midst. Four or five thousand are arriving here every week … The traffic is so heavy that we have to put on numerous special steamers to bring people from Lancashire, in the North-east of England.

In the exhibition’s entrance hall eight-foot monotone enlargements of Lawrence views greeted visitors, showing familiar beauty spots and antiquities like Blarney Castle. Another Lawrence stand sold postcards of the views that now customarily hung on the walls of Irish train carriages. A similar company exhibit in the Palace of Industry sold a variety of marble and bog oak souvenirs shaped like jaunting cars, harps, Celtic crosses and stage-Irish Paddies, all at affordable prices. These latter curios had long been

177 *Freeman’s Journal*, 20 June 1910.
178 Excursion diary, R.J. Welch Collection, Ulster Museum.
180 *Irish Independent*, 24 June 1907.
182 *Irish Times*, 5 Jul. 1907.
popular. Aesenath Nicholson had written about admiring the bog oak ornaments in a Dublin shop window, among them a miniature sculpture of Father Mathew administering the pledge to a kneeling peasant.\textsuperscript{183} Besides carvers, souvenir sellers also included women who went aboard the vessels at Queenstown, retailing embroidered lace to passengers.\textsuperscript{184} At the Giant’s Causeway in county Antrim, one visitor noticed how everyone living within its vicinity, worked either as a guide or fossil seller that pestered tourists up and down the natural formation with items dug out of the ground.\textsuperscript{185} Elsewhere, Clifton Johnson sought out a shamrock as a memento of his time in Ireland, noting how it grew along the sides of country roadways with barely any soil, making it a ‘pathetically appropriate … emblem’ of Irish identity.\textsuperscript{186}

Frequently, Irish-American tourists took offence to the stage-Irish imagery found on illustrated postcards. In 1908 one irate holidaymaker wrote to the \textit{Irish Independent} from Wexford expressing his disgust at seeing postcards on sale, representing an Irish courtship in which the colleen was barefooted. Another showed an intoxicated Irishman embracing a pig. The apparent tolerance for such offensive imagery puzzled him: ‘It is extraordinary to find that, while our exiled brothers and sisters abroad are trying to combat such evils as the Stage Irishman … we at home are openly encouraging such things.’\textsuperscript{187} It is plausible that either William Lawrence or Fergus O’Connor produced these postcards because each firm issued a comic series of Paddy images during this period. Usually illustrated by established artist John Carey, both sets featured pipers, Paddies and colleens inhabiting a picturesque and peaceful countryside, sometimes framed above the lyrics of contemporary popular songs.\textsuperscript{188}

One example of Carey’s work for Fergus O’Connor may be found on the 1903 postcard ‘Impudent Barney O’Hea’ (Fig. 3.5), where a well-dressed Paddy in stage Irish attire skips through countryside at dawn, with his travelling companion, a hooded colleen, whose long, blue, Kerry cloak flows over the wicker basket in her left hand holding the eggs she will sell at market later that morning. Unlike her sister in the

\begin{enumerate}
\item Neville Irons, ‘Irish bog oak carving’ in \textit{Irish arts review}, Vol. 4 No. 2 (Summer 1987), p. 54.
\item Jones, \textit{Shamrock land}, pp. 239-40.
\item Stevenson, \textit{The charm of Ireland}, p. 481.
\item Johnson, \textit{The isle of the shamrock}, pp 168-69.
\item \textit{Irish Independent}, 9 Apr. 1908.
\item Niall Murphy, \textit{A Bloomsday postcard}, p. 33.
\end{enumerate}
offending postcard this colleen actually wears shoes, further indicating the prosperity she shares with Paddy, which is also reflected in the fertile countryside around them and the farmhouses and orderly fields marking it. The round tower in the right background adds to the picturesque effect of the scene, itself a possible idealisation on Carey’s part of the utopian future that year’s land act might bring about to rural Ireland. Below this illustration is a musical notation for the eponymous popular song, along with the lyrics: ‘You’d better behave yourself Barney O’Hea.’ This text may be interpreted as the colleen’s playful warning to Paddy not to try anything illicit, although the flirtatious glances between the couple indicate that such might in fact be a welcome possibility.

Improved farming techniques and modern housing provided for under the 1903 Land Act had raised living standards for small tenant farmers who, rather than living in ramshackle cabins, now resided in ‘thatched and slated cottages with creepers … and corrugated gates.’ Robert Lynd, praised the affect this had on the landscape: ‘Now that the land is coming into his own hands, the Irish farmer is showing … a wonderful instinct for improving his surroundings. The farms are still shaggy – I say shaggy rather than shabby – in appearance, but the houses, especially the houses of the small farmers, are beginning to wear a new air of brightness and prosperity.’ In 1912 the Irish Tourist Association – now renamed Tourist Development (Ireland) Ltd. – invited a party of British agriculturists to view ‘what land purchase has done for the country.’ The aim of this visit was to highlight Ireland’s material improvement under the last Conservative government, a public relations exercise designed to attract further tourists, who were now beginning to notice the mounting tensions surrounding the issue of Home Rule amongst the Irish population.

In 1913, while travelling by train from Dublin to Killarney, B.E. Stevenson met the wife of a well-off farmer emphatically against Home Rule, arguing that it would inevitably encourage labourers to grab land. At his destination Stevenson met a ‘very loquacious Ulsterman’ in a hotel bar, cursing the Kerry foreman who dismissed him for drunkenness: ‘No doubt his experience in the south of Ireland made him a more rabid Orangeman than ever. I suppose he lost no time in signing the covenant and enlisting in

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189 The Times, 30 Aug. 1911.
190 Lynd, Home life in Ireland, p. 15.
191 Irish Times, 30 Apr. 1912.
Ulster’s army.’ Tourists to the province often noticed sectarian graffiti on its trains. Clifton Johnson described how the Pope got ‘a curious intermingling of curses and blessings in these shaky pencillings,’ but that ‘the name of King William [was] visited with like adoration and obloquy.’ Frenchman, L. Paul Dubois reported how excursion trains on the twelfth of July were used for raids on Catholic towns that the government usually turned a blind eye to. On this day in Belfast, Stevenson, witnessed a crowd in thrall to a voluble preacher predicting that Home Rule would result in Ulster Protestants being persecuted into homelessness. As the atmosphere in the city grew more chauvinistic, he condemned unionist politicians like Sir Edward Carson and James Craig M.P., for raising a ‘Frankenstein’ they would be unable to control.

In 1908, Craig had addressed the House of Commons, opposing a proposed ‘rights-of-way’ bill that would give landlords permission to rail off ‘places hitherto used, and the putting up of walls in other parts.’ He argued that if such routes were removed from public use then locals would be greatly inconvenienced in their daily lives. Moreover, it would diminish tourism because visitors to these areas would decline. Craig stated that the authors of the bill ‘had never been in Ireland, and did not know what its effect would be.’ According to him the social consequences would be profound, setting local inhabitants against proprietors similar to the land war. Loss of tourists would also impact on the local economy, depriving it of revenue and adding to social discontent.

Throughout the nineteenth century, many tourists to Ireland attempted to explain Ulster’s material success in comparison to the rest of the island. On his visit to its industrial heartland in 1844, Thackeray disregarded the popular view that Protestantism had engendered industrialisation, suggesting that Scots ethnicity was a mitigating factor instead, ‘meaning thrift, prudence, perseverance, boldness, and common sense, with which qualities any body of men, of any Christian denomination, would no doubt prosper.’ Writing nearly fifty years later, one American traveller was more attuned to issues of gender in his assessment:

193 Johnson, *The isle of the shamrock*, p. 250.
196 *Hansard 4* (Commons) clxxxix, cc1405-37 (29 May 1908).
197 Thackeray, *The Irish sketchbook*, pp. 302-03.
The chief real difference between Belfast … and the rest of the towns in Ireland, lies in the fact that the Ulster communities have a line of industries in which cheap female labour can be profitably employed. There is in all Ireland, by the census of 1891, an excess of females over males of 72,010. Of this excess the twenty-eight Catholic counties have 17,517 and the four Protestant counties have 54,493. This means simply that the able bodied girl in the Catholic parts goes away to America or Australia, because there is nothing for her to do at home. The Protestant girl of Belfast or Derry finds employment in the home factories instead.\footnote{198}

Other tourists also commented on the prevalence of young women employed in Belfast factories, using the tourist gaze to objectify them for the reader. In 1910 Englishman, R.A. Scott-James, noticed how some girls leaving work at the end of their shift were shoeless – ‘from custom, I suppose, rather than from poverty.’ In contrast to their English counterparts, these factory girls had ‘no flabby mouths, no flaunted feather in the hat, or decorative, useless shoes.’ He considered them ‘strikingly beautiful’ and remarked that ‘most of these poorly clad women moved with a graceful swing from their hips, with a dignity of which they were unconscious.’\footnote{199} Thackeray had formed a similar sentiment after visiting a local spinning mill sixty years before: ‘I have seldom, I think, seen more good looks amongst the young women employed in this place. They work for twelve hours daily, in rooms of which the heat is intolerable to a stranger; but in spite of it they looked gay, stout and healthy; nor were their forms much concealed by the very simple clothes they wear while in the mill.’ Thackeray confessed to being struck by the good looks of most Belfast women, who, he was careful to point out, were undoubtedly as ‘irreproachable in morals as their sisters in the rest of Ireland.’\footnote{200}

This objectification of Irish femininity had occasionally manifested itself in newspaper reports about the country. In 1880 \textit{The Daily News} published a report from its correspondent in Mayo, in which he described meeting a ‘colleen of about twelve years as thinly and as scantily clad as is consistent with that decency for which Irishwomen of the poorer classes are justly celebrated.’ She was dirty beneath her red petticoat and skipped towards him barefoot with her hair fluttering wildly – ‘an artists study of grace and beauty.’ Comparing her to a ‘mountain slyph’, the correspondent rued the day when

she would finally grow up and work in Ballina, forgoing her present picturesque appearance for a cheap fashionable gown. Three years later *The Graphic* published an article from a soldier despatched to the west of Ireland with his regiment. He reported that despite nefarious Irish-American influence there was ‘still a good deal of old Irish courtesy and wit, and gaiety about the peasant,’ and that ‘pretty colleens did not always turn [their] violet eyes with disgust on the Saxon invader.’

The male tourist fascination for poor Irish women had its genesis in early nineteenth-century peasant portraiture and will be examined elsewhere in this thesis. However, the strong association between colleens and tourism to Ireland was originally rooted in nationalist cartoons and their widespread dissemination of the figure of Erin throughout the turbulent decade of the 1880s. Emanating directly from this was the contemporary appearance of colleens at international exhibitions in their role as imaginary inhabitants of model Irish villages.

A prime example of this link and perhaps the most significant because of its date is a June 1888 cartoon from the *Weekly Freeman* entitled ‘A General Invitation’, illustrated by John D. O’Hea (Fig. 3.6). In it Erin appears as prosperous colleen on a hilltop in the process of drawing back a curtain on a scene combining both picturesque and sublime elements. In the valley below is a large hotel with a view of the imposing mountains rising out of the misty landscape. A complex of ancient ruins stand midway between them, their silhouettes indicating that they may well be a round tower and a church of some description. On another hill in the left foreground stand two intrepid tourists, one of whom points to the rugged scenery confronting them in the distance. The fact that red-cloaked Erin is resting a washbasin on her hip indicates that she has been busy cleaning up her land in preparation for tourists undeterred by newspaper reports of the ongoing land war. Several lines of text at the bottom of the page further contextualise this image, one of which is Erin’s invitation, asking tempted travellers to visit: ‘Shure you’re always going to Scotland and the Continent – Why not give me a chance this year? I have as beautiful hills and lakes as any one of them – and I’ll take the best of care of you.’ The rest of the text includes a quote from prominent liberal politician and former

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201 *Daily News*, 3 Nov. 1880.
Irish chief secretary, John Morley M.P., (1838-1923) who states that if Thomas Cook could bring more British tourists to Ireland then ‘half the misunderstandings that exist in the Saxon mind would speedily disappear.’\textsuperscript{203} The publication of this drawing coincided with the Irish Exhibition at Olympia, London, where the first model Irish village with its hired colleens was publicly displayed for the first time, setting the scene for the formation of the Irish Tourist Association seven years later.

CONCLUSION

In a 1905 letter to \textit{The Times}, Frederick Crossley stated that the Irish Tourist Association, had been instrumental in banishing the ‘prejudices and misunderstandings between Englishmen and Irishmen’ in the decade since its inception. ‘English people’, he wrote, ‘wherever they may travel in Ireland are subjected to the greatest amount of courtesy and hospitality.’\textsuperscript{204} English journalist, Frank Fox, agreed and hoped that tourism would benefit the country’s material prosperity and create a better understanding between it and ‘the sister nation of Great Britain.’ However, he warned that no nation could ever achieve greatness by being another’s playground and stated that Ireland’s future lay in the constructive unionist policy ‘of putting the bulk of the land in the hands of small holders and of teaching the people how best to use the land.’\textsuperscript{205} \textit{The Times} viewed ‘the popularisation of Ireland’ from a similar economic perspective, stating that the pacification of the countryside had precipitated ‘in an increase in trade between Great Britain and [Ireland], which has induced the London and Northern Railway to improve their goods service by train and steamer.’\textsuperscript{206} In Ireland the \textit{Irish Times} acknowledged that the Irish Tourist Association had created ‘better public opinion’ of Ireland and that ‘the absolute peace of every district and the courtesy of the people to strangers are spoken of in English and Scottish prints.’ Generally ‘there [had] been a brushing up everywhere’ with ‘cleanliness … now the rule.’\textsuperscript{207} Even rural reformer Horace Plunkett conceded in

\textsuperscript{203} \textit{Weekly Freeman}, 16 June 1888.
\textsuperscript{204} \textit{The Times} 19 Aug. 1905.
\textsuperscript{205} \textit{Irish Independent}, 31 Aug. 1909.
\textsuperscript{206} \textit{The Times}, 20 Aug. 1901.
\textsuperscript{207} \textit{Irish Times}, 9 Sept. 1898.
1908 that ‘the improved relations now existing between Great Britain and Ireland might be fairly attributed to this cause.’

Two years later the number of American tourists began to fall off, following the Cunard line’s decision to bypass Ireland altogether in favour of landing passengers directly at English ports. The *Freeman's Journal* highlighted the decline, estimating that £60,000 had been lost to a needful Irish economy in the first five months of that year. Writing in the letters page of the *Irish Independent*, a former Irish nationalist MP, complained how Ireland was being ‘deprived of her legitimate share of the American tourist traffic’, suggesting that a steamship line be established directly between the west of Ireland and New York to boost numbers.

Overall, the Irish Tourist Association’s decision to visually market Ireland abroad as a place of picturesque beauty proved extremely successful, attracting substantial foreign visitors to its resorts. Its publication of various illustrated guidebooks using photographs purchased from both William Lawrence and Robert Welch was a crucial point in this strategy, fostering a more positive view of Ireland amongst international audiences accustomed to images of distress and violence in late Victorian illustrated periodicals. The adherence of their pictures to aesthetic precepts of the picturesque dictated the way Ireland was consumed abroad, creating a brand whose components were later replicated in tourist photographs of the country. The dissemination of such images was given further impetus with the advent of the picture postcard, which ensured their global propagation and consolidated Ireland’s reformed image in popular culture. Added to this were the postcard illustrations of artists like John Carey, whose own idealised version of Irish life showed a variety of stage Irish characters inhabiting a rural utopia devoid of agrarian and sectarian conflict. These tropes had originated earlier in both nationalist cartoons and model Irish villages built for contemporary international exhibitions at the end of the nineteenth century. The prevalence of Irish girls as ‘colleens’ at these events further disarmed Ireland’s violent international reputation and was done without the input of the Irish Tourist Association, which, as will be shown, disapproved

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210 *Irish Independent*, 16 May 1910.
of using this feminine symbol of an inclusive Irish identity as a way of promoting tourism to the island.
Chapter 4

‘Miniature Ireland’: model Irish villages at international exhibitions, 1888-1893

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the link between the promotion of tourism and the model Irish villages built for late Victorian exhibitions. The 1888 Irish Exhibition at Olympia, London, and the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair provide the opportunity for a comparative analysis of how each site created a theatrical version of Ireland that blended stage Irish tropes with ethnic commoditisation. This chapter is divided chronologically, each part scrutinising the respective exhibitions in terms of their differing political contexts and locations. The first section examines the concept of the model village and examines its connection to the new imperialism of the late nineteenth century. Consequently, the imperial undertone of the Irish Exhibition is investigated, as is its use of sensational theatre to glorify Ireland’s military contribution to empire. Further highlighted is the organisers’ attempt to stimulate the moribund Irish tourist industry through the publication of a travel guide that provided visitors with a selective interpretation of the country. The second discusses the apparent anomaly of two rival Irish villages at Chicago and how their staging revealed a change in American attitudes towards Irish immigrants. It will be argued that the increase in American tourists to Ireland during the 1900s can be partly attributed to the positive response each village elicited from patrons.

THE 1888 IRISH EXHIBITION

In 1989 Carol Breckenridge, anthropologist and historian of post-colonialism, provided a useful definition of nineteenth-century national and international exhibitions as being part of a unitary ‘landscape of discourse and practice’ that situated centres and colonial peripheries ‘within a single analytical field.’1 The London opening of the Great Exhibition in 1851 was based on the premise that all human life and endeavour could be meticulously represented through the exhibition of manufactured products.2

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2 Richards, The commodity culture etc., pp 17-18.
displayed a small selection of textiles, furniture and bog oak ornaments on sale to the public from individual stalls rather than within a central bureau. The *Freeman’s Journal* reported how visitors were surprised by their presence in light of ‘the disunited condition of the Irish people and the unparalleled series of misfortunes which for such a number of years has paralysed the operations of their commerce.’ The paper was optimistic that the exhibition would ultimately boost Irish exports as part of general economic recovery following on from its recently ended famine. The *Illustrated London News*, however, took a negative view of Ireland’s involvement, concluding that most native manufacture was unworthy of attention. A satirical booklet entitled *Mr. Gooleye’s Visit to the Exhibition*, was equally disparaging and mocked in several illustrations the perceived defects of Irish exhibits. Karl Marx criticised the Great Exhibition for being a ‘pantheon in modern Rome’, where the bourgeoisie exhibited ‘with self-congratulatory pride the gods it [had] created for itself.’ Another detractor, Irish nationalist John Mitchel, dismissed the event as a grotesque monument to imperial greed and commercialism, a business convention for factory owners and capitalists grown rich on the spoils of India and other British conquests.

The basis for Mitchel’s argument lay in the fact that the twin objectives of the Great Exhibition had been to glorify and domesticate empire for the British masses. It aimed to generate popular support for government foreign policy through a vast spectacle that exhibited Britain’s possessions as quantifiable batches of produce rather than distinctive cultures under the crown. Visitors to the fair were encouraged to regard the Empire as a singular agency crucial to maintaining Britain’s industrial supremacy and monopoly on international trade. India in particular was presented as a well of infinite resources with the exhibits of the East India Company given precedence over those of other colonies and dependencies. Although Ireland’s contribution was judged

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3 *Morning Chronicle*, 28 Aug. 1851; *Belfast Newsletter*, 12 Sept. 1851.
4 *Freeman’s Journal*, 8 May 1851.
6 Ibid., p. 23.
insignificant in this context, its status as an integral part of the United Kingdom permitted the organisers of the subsequent 1865 Dublin Exhibition to realign its position as a potentially successful participant in the imperial economy. This was achieved through a publicity campaign that extolled the material benefits Ireland might attain by actively acquiring and processing the commodities of colonies drawn from elsewhere in the Empire. The coincident publication of an allegorical poem entitled *Erin’s Fairy Spell, or The Palace of Industry and Pleasure – A Vision*, similarly espoused this view with its re-imagining of the exhibition as a place where the iconic figure of Erin accepted tributes from symbolic representatives of various British territories.10

During the 1870s an economic shift occurred when continental Europe’s rise to industrial maturity quickened the pace and diversity of the global economy. Newly industrialised countries like Belgium, France and Germany now competed with Britain for a share of the world market – a condition exacerbated by a parallel economic depression that reduced British exports and partially caused the outbreak of the Irish land war in 1879.11 Middle class insecurity at the levelling out of economic prosperity led to calls for renewed imperial expansion: the British Empire grew by four million square miles between 1880 and 1905. Local labour extracted the mineral wealth of these new regions, which was then conveyed throughout the Empire by rail, road and ship. At the other end British factories manufactured goods for re-distribution along the same routes, temporarily ensuring Britain’s superiority over its emerging rivals now engaged in similar territorial expansion.12

This new imperialism promoted the appearance of native villages at international exhibitions, displaying people from subdued traditional cultures as contemporary ancestors whose behaviour and movement was strictly supervised. Visitors were at once

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10 Stephanie Rains, *Commodity culture and social class in Dublin 1850-1916*, (Dublin 2011), p. 73. (Hereafter Rains, *Commodity culture and social class*).
11 Eric Hobsbawm, *The age of empire 1875-1914*, p. 37. According to Gerard Moran: ‘The near famine circumstances of 1879-81 in the west of Ireland, brought about by the decline in seasonal migration earnings from Britain, the failure of the potato crop, competition from American agriculture and the withdrawal of credit by shopkeepers, was the impetus for the emergence of the ‘low rent movement’ and the formation of the Land League.’ See Moran, ‘The imagery of the Irish land war’, p. 39.
12 Hobsbawm, *The age of empire*, pp 59-69; J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism: a study*, Third Edition (London, 1988), pp 18-72. This is compared with 3.5 million square miles for France, the next largest colonial power, which increased its population by an estimated 100 million new subjects.
enchanted and disgusted by staged scenes from primitive life. Furthermore, they were encouraged to regard indigenous peoples as occupying a lower evolutionary stage in accordance with popular versions of recently developed scientific theory. By 1889 the precedent for colonial representation had been set at the Paris Exposition when French colonies like Tonkin and Algeria were represented as composite model villages inhabited by specially recruited natives. Underpinning these exhibits was the belief that it was possible to create a physical encyclopaedia explaining human evolution in terms of imperial conquest. Occasionally, international exhibitions hosted re-enactments of recent military campaigns, where natives were forced to recreate key episodes in their failed resistance for audiences, who were thereby instructed how such conquest now brought the indigene closer to western civilisation.

In June 1888 the first model Irish village appeared as a section of the Irish Exhibition in Olympia, London. At that time Irish agrarian unrest, particularly the plan of campaign, dominated British newspaper headlines. Although the exhibition’s organising committee consisted mainly of politicians, both nationalist and unionist, the event was promoted as being outside local, if pressing, concerns. Its organisers hoped to achieve several goals: to inform the British public of the nature and extent of Irish industry; to publicise Ireland’s historical treasures to potential visitors; and to promote mutual understanding, a point repeatedly iterated by committee secretary, Lord Arthur Hill. The Irish Times welcomed this transplanting of ‘Paddy’ to the centre of empire, convinced that the ‘counterfeit presentment’ of Ireland to Londoners would ‘do more than combined platitude of the Press, the preachments of rival platforms, or the peregrinations of political pilgrims to educate public opinion … in the true inwardness of the Irish

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15 Greenhalgh, Ephemeral vistas, p. 87.
16 MacKenzie, Propaganda and empire, pp 99-104. At the 1899 Greater Britain Exhibition there were daily re-enactments of battles from the 1893 Matbele War.
18 The Irish Times, 6 Feb. 1888; The Times, 05 June 1888. Committee members included Herbert Gladstone, Liberal M.P. and son of the then Prime Minister, Lord Arthur Hill Honorary Secretary for the Committee & Unionist party M.P. and Justin McCarthy, Irish Parliamentary party M.P. For a full list see Brendan Rooney, ‘The Irish Exhibition.’
question.’ Bringing Ireland to London presented an unrivalled opportunity to dispel the country’s violent image. It would improve, too, its reputation abroad, leading to increased trade and domestic prosperity.20

Several British newspapers were equally positive about the exhibition’s value. The Manchester Guardian predicted that it would serve as a showcase for Ireland’s resources and native manufacturers. The Penny Illustrated Paper expected that it would consolidate the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, ending political tensions definitively.21 Likewise the Daily Chronicle opined that it would be ‘nothing short of a revelation to Englishmen and women, and to strangers from further afield, that Ireland would appear as a centre of sterling industry with the capacity to produce objects as good as the items manufactured in English industrial cities. The paper hoped railway and steamboat companies would lower their fares to allow the maximum number of tourists to attend what was, in its opinion, a momentous occasion when all of Ireland’s political factions united in selling its merchandise directly to British consumers.22

This ‘miniature … Ireland’, as the Irish Times called it, featured an exhaustive list of commodities that included suites of furniture embellished with carved native symbols – harps, round towers and shamrocks – cut clearly in to the wood; a pyramid of soaps from an Ulster manufacturer; a cabinet of teas from a Cork merchant; large quantities of textiles; and homespun lace from the Donegal Industrial Fund.23 Alice Hart (1850-1900), an English philanthropist, had founded this organisation in 1883 following an earlier tour of the county taken with her physician husband Ernest, a member of the Irish Exhibition’s organising committee. Donegal’s widespread poverty prompted her to establish a cooperative for educating local women in lace-making and embroidery that also negotiated on its behalf with wholesale buyers in London and elsewhere.24 Patterned goods were tailored to meet consumer demand and paid £1,042 in wages to workers by 1885.25 The Donegal Industrial Fund was one of several similar initiatives started throughout Ireland.

20 Ibid., 19 June 1888.
21 As quoted in the Irish Times, 5 Apr. 1888; Penny Illustrated Paper, 9 June 1888.
22 Irish Times, 4 June. 1888; Ibid., 5 June. 1888.
25 Southern Star, 16 June 1894.
during this decade, seeking to foster cottage industries in impoverished areas. Lady Aberdeen’s Irish Industries Association was the most recent and as wife of the then lord lieutenant had been successful in securing aristocratic patronage for its activities.

At Olympia however, Lady Aberdeen’s role was less prominent than Alice Hart, who collaborated with the Earl of Leitrim – one of Donegal’s largest landlords – in designing the exhibition’s main attraction, otherwise known as the Donegal Industrial Village. This structure consisted of twelve thatched cottages set irregularly on a street populated with ‘dyers, damask-linen weavers, sewing and knitting girls, spinners and wool-carders.’ A replica Celtic cross stood in its square, giving the replica a reportedly ‘mystic, Old World aspect’ whose only incongruity was a series of lampposts along its main thoroughfare. London’s Queen magazine provided readers with regular illustrated accounts of the hamlet, praising the embroideries on sale for their high quality finish. Another periodical described the feeling of trepidation some visitors felt before entering the venue: ‘Many of these timid but highly curious people entered it with feelings of fear and trembling, as if it were a Sioux encampment they were about trusting their precious persons to, but they had scarcely been an hour in the village until they voted it the jolliest place, and its inhabitants the finest peasantry under the sun.’ This comparison to the habitation of a rebellious native-American tribe suggests that Ireland’s reputation for violence was at the forefront of many visitors’ minds. By reducing the country to a productive village, Alice Hart was deliberately providing them with an alternative Ireland that would belie the image built up in British newspapers for almost a decade. As Lynda Nead argues, the rural village, to the Victorian middle-class mind, represented an orderly place set in a pure environment beyond the polluted suburbs of industrialised cities, a concept becoming increasingly important to contemporary British identity. Hart’s model village chimed with this idea, making rural Ireland more palatable for public consumption in London. It was not based on any actual Irish town, but was rather a theatrical
approximation of what one ought to look like if industrial prosperity became general beyond east Ulster.

The Donegal Industrial Village was thus a simulacrum or a subjective interpretation of Ireland that diverged from the contemporary reality of most Irish settlements. It also incorporated the figure of the colleen as a sales assistant to attract and appease sceptical visitors. Alice Hart first deployed this trope at the 1885 International Inventions Exhibition in London when she hired Irish girls to spin and weave for a curious public. Costumed in red frieze petticoats and white linen bodices their contrived appearance was part of her idealisation of young Irishwomen as individuals who preferred working in the countryside for low wages to more remunerative employment in the factories of Ireland’s cities.\(^{30}\) In the rapidly expanding consumer culture of the late nineteenth-century, images of women had become linked to saleable objects, bridging the gap between goods and consumer appetites urged on by an increasingly sophisticated advertising industry.\(^{31}\) During the 1870s advances in chromolithography finally made it possible to produce cheaply coloured posters and pictorial advertisements in newspapers, many featuring illustrations of pretty young women selling multifarious products.\(^{32}\) Female shop assistants had proliferated with the growth of department stores in the middle decades of the century, and their physical appearance influenced public perceptions of their role and social significance within the premises where they worked.\(^{33}\) The ‘shop-girl’ used her charm and persuasive skills to sell items to male customers, while possessing a glamour many women attempted to emulate in their own clothing style.\(^{34}\) At the Irish Exhibition the roles of shop-girl and colleen were merged to disarm Ireland’s violent reputation for patrons.\(^{35}\) Many periodicals noted the large number of girls employed for this purpose, with one publishing a cartoon linking them with the figure of Hibernia cast in the role of barmaid.

\[\text{30 Helland, British and Irish home arts etc, p. 35.}\]
\[\text{31 Kristina Huneault, Difficult subjects: working women and visual culture, Britain 1880-1914 (Aldershot, Burlington 2002) pp 82-83. (Hereafter: Huneault, Difficult subjects).}\]
\[\text{33 Rains, Commodity culture and social class, p. 138.}\]
\[\text{34 Huneault, Difficult subjects, p. 83.}\]
\[\text{35 Rooney, ‘The Irish Exhibition’, p. 105.}\]
In J.G. Thomson’s ‘At the Irish Exhibition: Hibernia and the Grand Old Masher’ (Fig. 4.1), published in the June 1888 issue of *Fun* magazine, former prime minister and Home Rule advocate William Gladstone slouches against a wooden counter, admiring pretty Hibernia listening receptively to his mutterings from behind the bar. Its wooden panelling is carved with Irish motifs similar to those on the furniture sold at the exhibition, the exception being the artist’s inclusion of a pig as a signifier of ethnic Irish identity. Behind Gladstone are his jealous rivals, Conservative prime minister, Lord Salisbury, and his nephew Irish chief secretary, Arthur Balfour, who observes to his uncle that ‘it’s no use expecting her to attend to us while he’s hanging about.’ The latter’s continued enforcement of the 1887 Crimes Act against those involved in the plan of campaign had aroused much hostility in the majority of the Irish population with this scene reflecting Hibernia’s preference for Gladstone’s more conciliatory policies. The term ‘masher’ itself suggests that the artist based his version of this allegorical figure on the colleens working in the model village, denoting, as it did, a particular type of man known for flirtatious behaviour with shop-girls. In fact, deprived of her classical drapery, this particular Hibernia more closely resembles the figure of Erin commonly featured in the cartoons of contemporary Irish nationalist newspapers like *United Ireland* and the *Weekly Freeman*, which both regularly used her as figure of hope and resistance against disagreeable government policies.

Gladstone’s actual visit to the exhibition in July was widely covered in the press, particularly his patronage of its art gallery where he admired portraits of Henry Grattan, Daniel O’Connell and paintings by Irish artists, some of which reflected a political viewpoint contrary to the exhibition’s claim to impartiality.36 An adjacent gallery exhibited photographs of Irish scenery from the studio of William Lawrence, whose prints visitors reportedly purchased in large numbers.37 Thirty-seven years previously, the Great Exhibition had hosted a salon of photography, propagating the idea that the camera now brought all nations under a common gaze.38 The following decades had witnessed a rapid expansion of the photographic industry as limitless quantities of mechanically reproduced

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37 *Irish Times*, 19 May 1888; Ibid., 25 May. 1888; *Weekly Irish Times*, 7 June 1888; Ibid., 7 July 1888.
38 McClintock, *Imperial leather*, p. 11.
figures, landscapes and events became available on the international market.\textsuperscript{39} Lawrence’s photographs were a part of this growing trend and their distribution in London, with their picturesque framing of peaceful Irish scenes, contrasted with the art gallery’s images of dispossession. Indeed their purpose was an early attempt to revive Ireland’s failing tourist industry, advertising its landscape for the first time to the British public.

This strategy was compounded by the coincident publication of \textit{Tours in Ireland}, a sanitised travelogue expunged of political issues originally printed in the \textit{Irish Times} by an anonymous reporter it had despatched on a circuit of Ireland. The book also contained numerous advertisements for hotels and travel agents like Thomas Cook, who now exerted an increasing influence over tourist areas like Killarney.\textsuperscript{40} The \textit{Irish Times} stated that its aim was to attract as many tourists as possible to Ireland to see the unmatched scenery of the most beautiful island in the empire. The book also aimed to inform Irish people of their country’s beauty spots, encouraging them to improve its tourist resorts in the hope foreigners would be enticed to visit. In the preface its author argued for an increased awareness of Ireland’s lesser known scenic areas, ‘especially upon an occasion like that of the Irish exhibition at Olympia, from which so great a stimulus is anticipated.’\textsuperscript{41} Within the text itself descriptions of locations and their inhabitants invariably contained the term ‘picturesque.’ For example, when writing about Donegal peasants on market day the author noted how those attending were all ‘comfortably and picturesquely clad.’ There was no sign of that squalid poverty which a great many associated with the very name of Donegal.’ It suggested: ‘We see one of the best types of Irish peasants. The men are tall, strong and hearty, the women muscular and active.’ Intimations that tourists would be in danger amongst these ‘wild’ Irishmen were dismissed with the assertion that walking alone in the Donegal highlands weighed down with gold was safer than dropping down into the Thames Embankment after midnight for a look.\textsuperscript{42}

Concurrent widespread British press coverage of the on-going plan of campaign continued to deter tourists from regarding Ireland as a safe holiday destination, inevitably accounting for the reported suspicion some Londoners harboured for the Irish Exhibition.

\textsuperscript{39} Breckenridge, ‘The aesthetics and politics’, p. 201.
\textsuperscript{40} \textit{Weekly Irish Times}, 7 July 1888.
\textsuperscript{41} \textit{Tours in Ireland} (Dublin, 1888), p. 4.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., pp 46-47.
Recent events in Ireland had intensified this distrust when in July a series of evictions occurred on the Vandeleur Estate in county Clare, as tenants barricaded themselves in their homes to resist ejection. For several weeks illustrated newspapers like the *Graphic* and the *Penny Illustrated Paper*, carried images of tenant defiance against the battering ram. Robert French photographed the aftermath of these incidents for William Lawrence, who later included these pictures in his commercial lanternslide collection. In a series of letters published in *The Times*, TW Russell MP (unionist) explained how problems on the estate had originated in the landlord’s decision to increase rent by twenty-five per cent, charging a further ten shillings for any reclaimed bog. Russell accompanied the police and bailiffs on their rounds of the property, condemning one tenant for putting his young family in danger: ‘[Michael Connell] barricades his house, places eight or nine children, some of them under five years of age, inside as a garrison, walks coolly about the fields smoking his pipe, while his children are in this deadly peril. Was he able to pay? The fact is he had paid – but to the campaign fund.’ Russell also criticised the refusal of a ‘well-to-do’ farmer to pay rent, citing his daughter’s clothes as a sign of affluence:

> His daughters were as well dressed as city girls would be. Their hair was fringed, they wore high-heeled boots, and had fashionably cut dresses. I mention these facts to show that in these evictions it is not poor cottiers who have gone to the wall. It is well-to-do people, who have made the money, who can pay, but who will not pay because they have been told not.

Russell’s comments provoked a furious response from one nationalist politician: ‘Has it come to that phase of social life that the daughters of Irish farmers are expected to go partially naked or cloth themselves in the habiliments of barbarism to enable their fathers to pay unjust rates? Are curls, boots and neat dress to be worn by the wealthy only?’ As the month wore on, reports of more evictions on the estate were reported in the press, setting Alice Hart’s model village further at odds with reality. Aside from the art gallery, however, the rest of the exhibition did not entirely ignore the burning issue of eviction.

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44 Cullen, ‘Marketing national sentiment’, p. 164.
45 *An account of the Vandeleur estate* (Dublin, 1888), pp 14-19.
although its depiction elsewhere was primarily designed to boost attendance in a manner that might be construed as exploitative.

For the event’s duration an eviction scene was re-enacted twice daily on the lawn outside the main hall. Like the colleens inside, its participants were employees, possibly actors, who played the parts of police and tenant for the amusement of spectators. According to the *Irish Times* the idea had originated with an unnamed nationalist politician who proposed that a tableaux of contemporary Irish life be staged outdoors, giving Londoners entertainment for their money. Some committee members were apprehensive that this move would dangerously politicise the event’s stated neutrality at a time of sharp political tension in Ireland. As the same newspaper put it: ‘the difficulties of adapting the social and popular conditions of Ireland to the exigencies of spectacular representation are unfortunately great, and that if the Exhibition is to be organised upon an ambitious scale this will prove the crux of the position.’

However, the controversial contents of the art gallery had already compromised this position, as had the stalls allocated to the Liberal Unionists and Home Rule Union for dispersing their literature. When permission was finally granted this enactment had become part of the larger entertainment goals of the exhibition, where elements of Victorian sensational theatre were used to attract more people to Olympia.

Lynn Voskuil has established that sensation theatre emerged as a specific genre in the early 1860s when melodramas included ‘new staging technologies to produce scenes and sets startling in the excesses of their verisimilitude.’ People thronged to these performances, anticipating floods, train crashes, shipwrecks and horse races on giant treadmills that made the new theatrical technologies themselves into a form of entertainment. These sets were spectacles of commodity culture, registering their effects on Victorian life in the years immediately after the Great Exhibition. Dion Boucicault’s plays pivoted around skilful use of these and featured thrilling sequences that fully utilised

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47 *Weekly Irish Times*, 31 Mar. 1888. The paper also reported ‘that parties of Irish hurlers should be imported to illustrate an athletic pastime peculiar to the country, and there is reason to believe that this proposal will be adopted.’
50 Richards, *The commodity culture etc*, pp. 56-57.
the latest mechanical technology. His audiences were startled with an exploding steamboat in the *Octoroon*; a daring escape in *Arrah-na-Pogue*; and the Colleen Bawn’s attempted drowning in the eponymous play. At Olympia similar devices were used along with large-scale reproductions of medieval Irish buildings, including Blarney Castle, a round tower and St. Laurence’s Gate, Drogheda.

It was around the latter that a daily ‘sham battle’ between sepoys and Irish regiments of the British imperial army was enacted, drawing increasingly large crowds to Olympia. This skirmish depicted an imagined engagement from the 1857 Indian Mutiny that substituted St. Laurence’s Gate for Delhi’s heavily defended walls. One Irish reporter noted the uniqueness of the garrison: ‘from the battlements of Drogheda castle were seen – not wild Irish Kern with long flowing coulins, saffron shirted, and armed with battleaxes paid gallowglass – but a band of dusky Indian sepoys ready with cannonade to repel the attack of some British soldiers which was expected to come at four pm.’ Whether those cast in the role of rebels were native soldiers of some visiting regiment is unclear, although the *Irish Times* reported that a group of Indian dancers were frequently present to entertain the crowd prior to each performance. The siege itself was extremely popular, especially its firing cannons, controlled explosions and hand-to-hand combat always won by British troops who then hoisted the Union Jack above the captured gate. As with the eviction tableaux resistance to the state apparatus was shown as being futile, though in this case it was the Irish who were portrayed as loyal and patriotic British subjects in the process of securing India and its resources for empire.

The British army first began recruiting Irish soldiers en masse following the dismantling of the penal laws in the late eighteenth century. Originally Irish Catholics had been banned from military service after the Glorious Revolution (1688), a prohibition largely ignored during the Napoleonic wars. In the early nineteenth century, forty-two per cent of all British soldiers had been born in Ireland – a disproportionate figure considering its population was then one third of the United Kingdom’s total. By 1840, Irish troops

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52 Rowell, *The Victorian theatre*, p. 152.
53 *Nation*, 14 Apr. 1888; *Irish Times*, 2 June 1888
54 *The Times*, 26 July 1888.
56 *Irish Times*, 28 July 1888.
57 *The Times* 26 July 1888.
constituted over forty per cent (16,000 men) of the combined regular army and British East India Company’s European regiments serving in India. Locals called them ‘Rishti’ to distinguish them from the ‘Angrese’, or English. During the India Mutiny, Irish regiments fought in various battles, besieging Delhi in the final encounter that ended the rebellion. When describing this assault, British historian, G.O. Trevelyan, singled out the ‘comic’ actions of one Irish sergeant, who became notorious for battering sepoys to death with his shillelagh. Between 1860 to 1914 Irish recruitment to the imperial army declined, as Famine mortality and migration drastically reduced Ireland’s population. Nevertheless Irish people of all denominations helped in large numbers to conquer, populate and govern the empire. In 1905 journalist and nationalist, DP Moran, expressed the dilemma some Irishmen faced when contemplating imperial service:

Is the Irishman who thanks God he has a country to sell, and goes up to Dublin Castle and sells it, doing any more real damage to “Ireland a Nation” than the shouting rebel who holds himself aloof, drifts with the Anglicising tide, and waits, sulking in poverty, for something which never turns up? Both are selling their country, and isn’t there something to be said for the man who is sensible enough to get something for what he gives away?

Moran believed that if the resistance to such service were removed from Christian Brothers’ schools then hundreds of Irish boys would become avid ‘Empire-makers.’ An earlier nationalist writer credited starvation and drunkenness with driving most Irishmen to join the British army. Consequently, many unionist commentators linked Home Rule with imperial dismantlement. Writing in the Pall Mall Gazette Lord Salisbury stated that such a measure would encourage Indian nationalists to ignore the ‘reputation of invincibility’ Britain had attained since suppressing the 1857 rebellion. Moreover, rival powers like France and Germany might negotiate with an independent Dublin executive to use Ireland’s ports to launch a blockade of Britain as a precursor to invasion. Historian, W.E.H. Lecky, feared that a new Irish legislature would inevitably succumb to revolutionary republicanism: ‘The parliament and still more the executive, which it is now

58 Thomas Bartlett, ‘The Irish soldier in India, 1750-1947’ in Michael Holmes and Denis Holmes (eds), Ireland and India: connections, comparisons, contrasts (Dublin, 1997), pp 16-22.
60 D.P. Moran, The philosophy of Irish Ireland (Dublin, 1905), pp 24-25.
proposed to set up in Ireland, would consist largely of men who were a few years ago active Fenians, or were at least paid from Fenian sources, and in sympathy and correspondence with Fenian leaders.’ By contrast its predecessor had been a loyal Protestant assembly ‘bound to the British Empire by the strongest ties of tradition, sentiment and interest.’63 One nationalist writer refuted these conjectures, arguing instead that imperialism and Home Rule were not mutually exclusive doctrines, with Ireland’s future prosperity contingent on imperial participation. He argued that supporting imperial expansion did not diminish one’s distinctive Irish identity, but rather made it an equal partner with the rest of the United Kingdom.64

This belief that Ireland was at one with Britain invites closer scrutiny however. Despite a supposed equality, Ireland had actually come under increased imperial control since 1800. Its post-Union administration in Dublin Castle included a separate executive run by a chief secretary and a lord lieutenant, both of whom were exclusively answerable to the imperial government in London.65 The country’s ambiguous constitutional status was reflected in contemporary newspapers such as The Times and Glasgow Herald, whose pages included columns headed ‘Ireland’ alongside those of other dominions and colonies. Local events like agrarian outrages, the law courts and vice-regal affairs were reported in a way dissimilar to other parts of the United Kingdom, adding to the popular perception that Ireland was a frontier region far removed from the metropolitan core of empire.66 The decision to mount an Irish Exhibition in London sought to alter this view, placing the country centre-stage in the imperial capital during the most aggressive phase of British territorial expansion. Its stated aim at improving relations between both islands was a public relations exercise complicated by continuing unrest in the Irish countryside, but one that, without its theatrical displays, relied primarily on exhibiting merchandise, some of it sourced directly from outlying regions of the Empire.

Epitomising this was the Indian teas that Newsom & Sons of Cork displayed at the exhibition. In Britain the consumption of tea rose from 2lbs to 6lbs per person between

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63 Untitled newspaper cutting, nd, Second Home Rule Papers (1893), (P.R.O.N.I. T1633).
65 Kenny, ‘Ireland and the British Empire, pp 2-11. Poyning’s Law, passed in 1494, severely curtailed the powers of the Irish parliament, which had existed since 1297. It declared that it could meet only with the king’s permission and that it could not pass laws unless he and his English Council previously approved them.
1851 and 1900. Newsom & Sons also exhibited a brand of coffee called ‘Café de Paris’ that was advertised in a picturesque illustration of Blarney Castle published in *Tours in Ireland* (Fig. 4.2). This image showed both company and product name projected across the castle’s battlements, above a complementary slogan announcing how the product offered drinkers: ‘A cup of coffee in perfection.’ This instance of Blarney Castle’s use as a billboard may be the first example of an Irish firm deploying a well-known tourist sight as a vehicle to sell its product abroad. Newsom’s use of this structure may have been intended to highlight the company’s connection to the imperial trade network through the popular legend attached to the castle’s former owner, Cormac McCarthy, and his audience with Queen Elizabeth I. In 1600 the latter granted a royal charter to the corporate entity that would later become the British East India Company, which for two centuries administered India before transferring its functions to the crown in the aftermath of the 1857 rebellion. Blarney Castle’s promotional use in a travel guide sold at a national exhibition in London, anticipated a convergence of imperialism and tourism that would later re-emerge in future constructive unionist policies towards Ireland.

Not all exhibition employees however, were willing to celebrate Ireland’s part in suppressing native resistance to British rule. On 23 August 1888 *The Times* reported that Cork’s Barrack Street Band had refused to participate in the final act of the ‘sham fight’ when it was required to play ‘Rule Britannia’ and ‘God Save the Queen’ as an accompaniment to the garrison’s staged surrender. The band again refused to play the national anthem during its evening performance in the main hall, receiving applause from one Nationalist MP present. The ensuing altercation with the audience threatened to turn violent when a group of ‘Orangemen’ who were employed at the exhibition intervened and tried to force a confrontation. Outnumbered, the band members escaped to their lodgings, but news of the incident spread quickly throughout London’s Irish immigrant areas. At a hastily convened meeting of the city’s Orange lodges a resolution was passed expressing ‘the utmost indignation that the managers of the Irish Exhibition at Olympia should have permitted the Cork Barrack Street band to perform at the exhibition after having so grossly

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insulted her Majesty the Queen and the general body of the British people.’ Anger was also directed at the organising committee’s apparent slowness in reprimanding the musicians, who continued to work at the exhibition for two days after the initial episode. Over the next week rumours circulated that the Orangemen of nearby Hammersmith were planning to attack the band, resulting in a ring of 400 police being placed around Olympia one evening as a precaution. Armed gangs of Irish Catholics also appeared to protect the Cork musicians, patrolling Olympia for hours until it became clear no attack was intended. Lord Arthur Hill, who was away on business in Belfast, eventually telegraphed the site manager that the band be dismissed, but was nonetheless lambasted in the British press for the delay in doing so.

The Globe described the incident as peculiarly mean since the raison d’être of the whole exhibition was to aid Ireland ‘by means of English money.’ Bandmaster, George Brady, justified the band’s decision on the basis that the event was non-political with ‘God Save the Queen’ being regarded by many in Ireland as an anti-Irish melody. As a result his musicians had not practised it before arriving in London, where he had also prohibited them from playing ‘God Save Ireland’ lest it gave offence. Moreover he had originally sent a proposed programme to the organising committee, which had overlooked the anthem’s omission without comment. ‘The bandsmen,’ he said, ‘took up a perfectly neutral ground that they intended to maintain …They are all anxious that it should be known that they meant neither disloyalty nor disrespect to their English fellows.’ More significantly Brady also revealed that the Royal Irish Constabulary had recently assaulted the band at several evictions in Cork, with parading soldiers often playing the national anthem to antagonise locals. In a subsequent press interview, Peter Doolan, band secretary, also accused British officials in Ireland of regularly using the national anthem to incite the population. He claimed that soldiers sang it on Sunday morning marches through Irish towns in an attempt to provoke a violent response from inhabitants. ‘Our refusal was not meant as an insult to the Queen of the English people,’ he assured the reporter, ‘it was simply a protest against Balfourism in Ireland.’ When it was suggested that the band

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69 The Times, 23 Aug. 1888.
70 Ibid.
71 As quoted in the Irish Times, 23 Aug. 1888.
72 Ibid.
would have obliged American and French requests with a rendition of their respective national anthems Doolan agreed, explaining that those nations had always been friendly to Ireland and that ‘when England ceases to make war upon us,’ his band would be happy to join in the English National anthem as well as in those of other nations.73

Further outrage in the British press followed these remarks. An angry correspondent to The Times condemned the band’s ‘disgraceful’ actions at the exhibition. Although a Home Ruler, he would never swerve in his loyalty to the queen and asserted that all sides in the Irish question should respect her anthem.74 An even more damning letter in the Evening Standard claimed that the unnamed nationalist politician’s applause of the initial incident was tantamount to treason, calling Home Rule ‘a mere pretext [for] the casting off of the authority of the Queen, to whom [its supporters] take every opportunity of showing their disloyalty.’75 Another British paper challenged George Brady’s reasons for rejecting the anthem, arguing that British troops had every right to play it in Ireland, regardless of the political climate.76 As the controversy escalated criticism was directed at Lord Arthur Hill, who admitted his struggle in maintaining neutrality at the exhibition: he had not condoned the conduct of the Cork band and steadfastly set his face against the introduction of political issues.77 Hill also refuted George Brady’s claim that approval had been given to the band to exclude the national anthem, stating that the bandmaster had full knowledge that it was integral to the exhibition, which concluded each day with its rendition.78 More indignation was caused by a report that the band had received a rousing reception from 2000 people gathered on Cork’s streets to welcome them home, where a small parade was given in their honour. The musicians’ arrival at Queenstown had also caused controversy when the band of the HMS Revenge deliberately played the national anthem from its anchorage in the harbour. The Barrack Street band replied with a few bars of ‘God Save Ireland’ that delighted the queues of emigrants lining the docks for departure to America.79

73 Pall Mall Gazette, 28 Aug. 1888.
75 As reported in the Irish Times, 23 Aug. 1888.
76 As reported in the Pall Mall Gazette, 28 Aug. 1888.
77 Irish Times, 28 Aug. 1888.
78 Ibid., 25 Aug. 1888.
An explanation for the belligerency of the band’s members can be found in an incident that occurred in February 1888 when it accompanied a recently released nationalist politician from Cork’s main train station. Trailing police baton-charged the group, destroying instruments and injuring several musicians who were taken to the city’s North Infirmary. Raising the matter in parliament MP for mid-Cork, Dr. Tanner, described how a bandsman was kicked in the head and face while lying unconscious on the ground, sustaining serious head injuries that had almost killed him. It had been the third police assault on a local band for welcoming home a politician convicted under the Criminal Law and Procedure (Ireland) Act. Tanner demanded the chief secretary to launch an immediate inquiry into the incident to prevent further police brutality against Cork’s population. A spokesman for the chief secretary stated the official police report found that the constabulary had been bombarded with stones from the large crowd, provoking them to retaliate, but not in a manner that inflicted the casualties alleged. In addition, police had never deliberately targeted musicians and were careful to warn a band beforehand if a scheduled demonstration seemed likely to breach the peace.80

Within Nationalist circles criticism was also leveled at some of the Irish Exhibition merchandise. A reporter for an Irish periodical admitted feeling humiliated ‘at the spectacle of an Irishman selling Paddies and their pigs in bog oak to English visitors, and sundry other articles which are nothing short of being caricatures of Irish character.’ The presence of such souvenirs at an event designed to raise understanding between Ireland and Britain ultimately undermined this objective by pedalling stereotypes anathema to reality.81 In an effort to boost flagging attendance a fancy fair was held in the model village where such socially prominent figures as Lady Aberdeen, the Marchioness of Londonderry and Mrs William Gladstone worked beside the colleens, selling goods to visitors in their guise as ‘fashionable and distinguished … stall keepers.’ Their presence attracted a large crowd to Olympia eager to see such upper-class women play sales assistant for a day.82 For a month after this event visitor numbers rose steadily, with the Irish Times reporting in early August how the exhibition had become increasingly popular with Londoners attracted by the addition of amusements and the choreographed battle. It

80 Hansard 3 (Commons) cccxxii, c860-2 (20 February 1888).
81 Nation, 18 Aug. 1888.
82 The Times, 18 July 1888; Irish Times 17 Aug. 1888; Helland, British and Irish home arts etc, p. 54.
predicted that numerous orders for Irish made goods might now be expected to come from English customers. \(^8^3\)

A parallel attempt to raise attendance was the promotion of train excursions between Ireland and London. In April 1888 Lord Arthur Hill had successfully negotiated with various railway companies for an attractive reduction in ticket prices. \(^8^4\) A contract was signed with the London and North Western Railway Company, which agreed to convey excursionists every second Thursday to London, from the opening to the closing of the exhibition, at return rates of £1 1s third class, and £2 10s second class. \(^8^5\) A month later the *Irish Times* published a letter from the Great Southern and Western Railway Company announcing that it would transport exhibits to all Irish ports at half rates, provided that each had a certificate from the secretary of the Exhibition stating they were genuine. Special vouchers issued would also allow exhibitors to travel to Irish ports at half single fares, reducing their overall costs in reaching London. \(^8^6\) The first planned return train trip from Dublin was scheduled for June and offered to people ‘of moderate means … particularly artisans of the better class, who are naturally much interested in seeing for themselves the various manufactures and industries which their own country has been able to send to the greatest capital in the world.’ The *Irish Times*, with its stake in publishing *Tours in Ireland*, had a vested interest in advertising the exhibition and urged further cooperation between British and Irish railway companies so that weekly excursions to Olympia could be professionally organised. \(^8^7\) As an extra incentive for making the trip the paper also encouraged tourists to view another trade fair nearby: ‘the Italian Exhibition is at one station of the railway line, the Irish at the next, and to pass through the first and then to examine the other is a treat in contrasts which the excursionist cannot fail to enjoy.’ The *Irish Times* predicted that once an impetus was given to tourist traffic it would flow unceasingly across the Irish Sea and into the hall at Olympia. \(^8^8\) However, this optimism foundered on a general desire amongst Irish tourists to see other attractions in London rather than the Irish Exhibition itself, where they reportedly lingered only a short time.

\(^{8^3}\) *Irish Times*, 16 Aug. 1888.  
\(^{8^4}\) *Irish Times*, 24 Apr. 1888  
\(^{8^5}\) Ibid., 30 Apr. 1888.  
\(^{8^6}\) Ibid., 5 May 1888.  
\(^{8^7}\) Ibid., 13 June 1888.  
\(^{8^8}\) *Weekly Irish Times*, 7 July 1888.
before travelling to the city’s other notable sights. Furthermore, there was growing
evidence of a general apathy amongst London’s Irish population towards the exhibition.
Many stayed away in large numbers and only returned during the tension surrounding the
Barrack Street band.\textsuperscript{89} By August the \textit{Irish Times} wondered why more tourists were not
availing of the cheap fares from Dublin, hoping that this would soon change.\textsuperscript{90} However,
the dismissal of the Cork musicians irrevocably damaged any chance the Irish Exhibition
had in recovering waning interest before its closure without fulfilling its aims in October
1888.

\textbf{The 1893 Chicago World’s Fair}

Between 1888 and 1893 the Donegal Industrial Fund won thirteen medals for its products
at various international exhibitions. In Paris in 1889 it earned more awards than any other
British exhibitor, thereby establishing a market in France for Irish lace. During this period
the Irish Industries Association also experienced a growth in activity, accumulating an
annual profit of £25,000 by 1892.\textsuperscript{91} The success of both organisations prompted Alice
Hart and Lady Aberdeen to discuss the possibility of collaborating on a joint venture at the
1893 World’s Fair in Chicago.

Lady Aberdeen announced that the planned exhibit would be an entire Irish village
rather than the handful of cottages that had been deployed at Olympia. This village would
cover several acres and act as a portal for Irish goods into the tariff-heavy American
market. ‘There has been an idea that it will not represent an ideal Irish village,’ Lady
Aberdeen informed her supporters ‘but I should say that it will be an ideal Irish village,
and I may tell you that there will be nothing dirty or uncouth about it – there will be no
rags.’\textsuperscript{92} A recurrent observation in contemporary Irish travel writing was the dilapidated
state of rural settlements outside Ulster, with one American tourist opining that most
country shops seemed to stock nothing but ‘shoddy clothes from English or German mills,
cheap hats from East London’s Jewish sweating establishments … [and] gaudy and
grossly inferior wares gathered from half a dozen other homes of pinchbeck

\textsuperscript{89} \textit{Nation}, 18 Aug. 1888.
\textsuperscript{90} \textit{Irish Times}, 16 Aug. 1888.
\textsuperscript{92} \textit{Irish Times}, 7 Apr. 1892.
manufacture.’93 Like Hart’s exhibit at Olympia this village would be another theatrical interpretation of Irish village life, albeit one that forsook the sensationalism of sham battles and dramatised evictions in favour of prosperity and picturesque architecture.

Government permission had to be obtained because of the scope for political controversy that an independent Irish exhibition abroad could provoke under the auspices of two women well known for their Home Rule sympathies. At Olympia, Alice Hart had kept these in check as she focused exclusively on promoting the work of her organisation. Likewise, Lady Aberdeen had concentrated on gaining maximum publicity for her embryonic association and remained conspicuously silent throughout the Barrack Street band controversy. In parliament, Mr. J. O’Connor, MP for Tipperary, raised the issue of separate exhibits for Britain and Ireland, asking if an Irish exhibition would be granted money for its management. The attorney general replied that a royal commission request for a substantial increase in the amount granted to the British section was still under review.94 When permission for a separate Irish exhibition was eventually given, Lady Aberdeen and Alice Hart had already gone their separate ways as an undisclosed difference between them thwarted plans for a joint project, resulting in two competing model Irish villages being exhibited at Chicago in 1893.95

Both women however had similar aims. Lady Aberdeen stated that her objective was not to ‘exhibit Ireland at the World’s Fair as an object of pity, but rather as an object of envy, inasmuch as it shows the beauty and intrinsic merit of the goods produced, even by our peasant cottage workers.’ She optimistically predicted that its success would establish a permanent business connection between Ireland and the United States, while simultaneously raising money for technical education. Lady Aberdeen also stressed the secular and apolitical ethos of her organisation, emphasising its stringent neutrality in Irish political controversies.96 The demand in Britain for Irish lace had convinced her that a model village at Chicago would provide the perfect opportunity to launch Irish products in America, especially since their display at the exhibition exempted them from import duties. The city’s large Irish population also offered a readymade market and she urged its

94 Hansard 4 (Commons) iii, cc42-3 (28 Mar. 1892).
95 Irish Times, 21 Oct. 1893.
96 The Times, 14 Aug. 1893.
members to patronise her village. Similarly, Alice Hart also asked Irish immigrants to support her venture, stating that the McKinley tariff of almost fifty per cent on woollen imports prevented Ireland from gaining a commercial foothold in America: ‘To maintain the tariff on Irish linens and laces is simply to raise the price on the consumer for articles … In the case of the woollen trade … Americans are beginning to discover that the duty on raw wool … is injurious to their own trade, and there is every reason to believe that [it] will be repealed.’ This levy had been set in 1890, when its chief proponent, congressman and future President, William McKinley had succeeded in getting it passed to protect American manufacture against foreign competition. Earlier that same year Mr. Jesse Collings, MP for Birmingham, asked the Commons whether it was viable for British manufacturers to send exhibits to Chicago, following the imposition of such a steep tax. A government spokesman answered that it was probable ‘the manufacturers of Great Britain would, to a great extent, be deprived from the fair if the tariff precluded profitable sales in America.’ In the end exhibition goods were excluded from import duties for the event’s duration, enabling both the Donegal Industrial Fund and the Irish Industries Association to trade untroubled.

Lady Aberdeen hired Dublin architect, Laurence McDonnell, to design her village, which eventually covered 25,000 feet and reportedly resembled the exterior of a prosperous Irish town. It also included its own version of Blarney Castle complete with a replica of the eponymous stone following the refusal of its proprietor, Sir George Colthurst, to lend the original. The rival Donegal keep became the focus of Alice Hart’s smaller hamlet, whose architectural look was similarly based on styles from Ireland’s past. Nineteenth-century Europe had witnessed an eclectic recourse to the designs of previous ages, as industrialising societies sought the veneer of tradition for new building projects. In Ireland, the country’s round towers and scattered examples of Romanesque structures – Cormac’s Chapel in Cashel being the prime example – were appropriated for this purpose.

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97 Daily Inter Ocean, 11 May 1893; Ibid., 13 May 1893. Lady Aberdeen also suggested that Irish women could help increase the demand for such products by asking for them in Chicago’s largest stores.
98 Irish Times, 28 Nov. 1893.
99 Rocky Mountain News, 23 Mar. 1890; The Vermont Watchman, 09 Apr. 1890.
100 The News and Observer, 11 May 1890; Hansard 3 (Commons) ccxlv, c574 (09 May 1890).
101 Southern Star, 6 May 1893; Atchison Daily Globe, 16 June 1893.
102 The Times, 20 Feb. 1893.
on the basis that their construction pre-dated the twelfth-century Norman invasion. Their duplication in Chicago was a collective attempt to establish an architectural pedigree for Ireland that, as will be shown later, also served to symbolise a selective ethnic identity associated exclusively with Irish Catholic nationalism.

In addition, both villages presented a vividly gendered version of Irish life using their mostly female employees as colleens to attract visitors. Three months before the Fair opened Lady Aberdeen had toured various convents and industrial schools in Munster, selecting the best textile workers for her village. At the Convent of the Good Shepherd in Cork, ten girls performed jigs for her in a specially made costume that was selected to clothe her female employees in Chicago. Three others were chosen from the Munster Dairy School to give butter demonstrations, while another was hired from Limerick’s lace making school. In April 1893 the Irish Times announced that Lady Aberdeen had finally recruited enough young women with good looks and energy who would draw crowds. A specially trained matron would supervise them during their residence of a hostel built within the village walls. Writing in anticipation of the colleens’ arrival, Chicago’s Daily Inter Ocean informed readers that they would be dressed in an outfit typical of that ‘worn by the peasantry … as it is represented … in … pictures of Irish country life,’ The Irish Times speculated that the style would be similar to previous costumes and envisaged the girls looking attractive in scarlet cloaks. In Chicago Lady Aberdeen would eventually encourage visitors to regard the colleens as commodities: ‘For whatever maybe the defects we have made of inanimate things these newly imported lads and lasses show their origin plainly enough, with their rosy cheeks – the tint of which some doubting American visitors have been rash enough to hint must be artificial.’

The rival Irish villages were located a distance apart from each other in the amusement area of the Fair’s site at Jackson Park. The Midway Plaisance, as it was called,
also exhibited German and Turkish villages, a Cairo street and a panorama of the Swiss Alps as seen from the city of Berne.\textsuperscript{110} On its opening in May 1893 the \textit{Atchison Daily Globe} (Kansas) dismissed the common rumour that this ‘motley spot’ was a promenade for prostitution: ‘It is well to say that the man who goes to the plaisance hoping to see something racy because improper or vulgar will be very much disappointed … Pretty women in large numbers there are, and many of them dance in the music halls, but there is no phase of their efforts which one would be unwilling to take his wife or daughter to see.’\textsuperscript{111} This included the Persian theatre, which hosted a beauty show consisting of ‘an attractive collection of forty women representative of … many nationalities and … passable types of feminine beauty, costumed in a dazzling manner according to the dress worn in the countries of which the women are natives.’\textsuperscript{112} Penned off from the crowds, these women were exhibited on a luxuriously carpeted platform with their country’s name printed on a label in front of them. A costume company organised the event, which proved so profitable that its ticket office was reported as continuously overflowing with ‘golden dollars.’\textsuperscript{113} One publication described the presented women as modest and gracious, clad in quaint costumes that were worth the admission price alone.\textsuperscript{114} Another report was more derogatory, framing its judgement according to racial aesthetics: ‘The Grecian woman is a sad spectacle to the idealist and the Cuban – well if the beauties of Cuba look fifty years old and have two sets of chin – this beauty is a fair representation. The Chinese and Japanese types look like accurate types and they are really pretty … The American girls … of course are handsome.’\textsuperscript{115} The \textit{Daily News} doubted that the woman labelled as Irish was in fact so, stating that her looks were too exotic to bare any resemblance to the colleens working in the Irish villages along the Midway.\textsuperscript{116} A journalist from another paper was more critical in his comparison, remarking that the women in the Persian theatre were not worth one colleen, whose ‘waxen skin’ showed ‘to the world that beauty as well as purity

\textsuperscript{110} Meg Armstrong, ‘“A jumble of foreignness”: the sublime musayums of nineteenth-century fairs and expositions’ in \textit{Cultural Critique}, No. 23 (Winter, 1992-93) p. 205. (Hereafter: Armstrong, ‘“A jumble of foreignness”’).
\textsuperscript{111} \textit{Atchison Daily Globe}, 11 May 1893.
\textsuperscript{112} \textit{Galveston Daily News}, 14 May 1893.
\textsuperscript{113} \textit{Sunday Sentinel}, 21 May 1893.
\textsuperscript{114} \textit{Atchison Daily Globe}, 11 May 1893.
\textsuperscript{115} \textit{Sunday Sentinel}, 21 May 1893.
\textsuperscript{116} \textit{Daily News}, 27 May 1893.
and wit are Ireland’s favourite gift. Another commentator similarly objectified the colleens, calling them more ‘kissable … than the lucky stone in the castle’ – the very ‘personification of cleanliness and neatness.’ Their separation from the crowd by high railings only heightened their attractiveness, creating the impression that they too were willing exhibits presented for visual consumption. For those who passed aesthetic judgement on them, the colleens represented an ideal of feminine beauty, similar to that expressed by contemporary tourists, who objectified Irish peasant girls through written descriptions of their coarse good looks and ‘picturesque’ clothing.

On visiting the Irish Industrial Village, one Chicago reporter noted how its jovial atmosphere furnished one of the ‘happiest fetes’ he had ever attended. Patrons were shown the colleen’s cottages facing a Celtic cross in the middle of a square stacked with turf and blackthorns for sale. Inside one of the cottages the journalist encountered ‘comely lasses … in picturesque Irish costumes … knitting, spinning and lace making’ next to a blazing turf fire on an open hearth. Another cottage acted as a museum, exhibiting copies of ancient Irish relics like the Tara Brooch. One visitor was lost in admiration: ‘the delicate tracing of the inlaid work is something to be wondered at. Antiquarians declare that no other nations of that period turned out such work except those of the Byzantine period.’

The *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans) was equally impressed: ‘At one end of the case are a couple of ancient gold crowns as were worn by the prehistoric Irish monarchs. They are totally unlike anything one would imagine a king wearing but are … irrefutable evidence of the marvellous civilisation of ancient Ireland.’ A village souvenir shop stocked a variety of items including bog oak souvenirs, pressed shamrocks and sods of turf tied up with ribbons. A second shop was devoted exclusively to photographs, most of which were Lawrence scenic prints that the Irish railway companies had supplied in the hope of

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119 Armstrong, “‘A jumble of foreigness’”, p. 221.
122 Julian Ralph, *Harper’s Chicago and the World’s Fair* (New York 1893), pp 561-62. The *Daily Picayune* noted that Chinese fans were also on sale with the inscription ‘Souvenir of the Irish village.’
enticing American tourists. Next to these a traditional public house served glasses ‘of foaming porter brewed on the banks of the Liffey’ to patrons fatigued by their circuit of the hamlet.

Outside and further along the Midway a half size replica of St. Laurence’s Gate, Drogheda, provided the 25¢ entry point for visitors to Donegal Village. At the official opening Father Muldoon, chancellor of the Chicago Roman Catholic archdiocese, consecrated its buildings with holy water as ‘the stars and stripes and Erin’s green flag’ were hoisted above. Some commentators inaccurately described the place as typical of the county’s least Anglicised areas, comparing its female employees to ‘fresh, healthy … mountain deer’ that took ‘the palm of beauty from all the foreign women at the Fair.’ According to the Irish Times the village’s pastiche monuments had been specially chosen to provide visitors with a comprehensive visual record of Ireland’s different historical epochs, ranging from ogham stones to a round tower that combined, or so Alice Hart claimed, to tell ‘the story of the ancient history of the Celts.’ Donegal Castle itself was divided into two rooms: a lecture hall hosting talks on land reform and tenant proprietorship, and an art gallery displaying paintings of Irish scenery and life. A nine-foot high statue of Prime Minister Gladstone, copied from the original facing Bow Street Church in London, stood on a pedestal in the latter’s centre. His portrait ‘bringing in the Home Rule bill’ hung on its wall, although by the end of 1893 the bill’s rejection in the House of Lords and Gladstone’s subsequent retirement would render such a depiction

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123 Irish Times, 01 Apr. 1893; Lady Aberdeen The Irish Industrial Village, Worlds Columbian Exposition, (Dublin 1893), p. 15. Two Dublin photographic firms, Lafayette and Werner & Sons, also exhibited photographs in the village gallery, while Lord Dunraven mounted a selection of pictures in Tara Hall showing Irish antiquities.
124 Irish Times, 20 May 1893.
126 Milwaukee Sentinel, 27 May 1893.
127 James W. Shepp and Daniel B. Shepp, Shepp’s World’s Fair photographed, being a collection of original copyrighted photographs (Chicago 1893), p. 488. (Hereafter: Shepp, Shepp’s World’s Fair photographed).
128 Irish Times, 28 Nov. 1893.
129 Sunday Inter Ocean, 3 Sept. 1893; Frank H. Smith, Art history: Midway Plaisance and World’s Columbian Exposition (Chicago 1893), p 81.
130 Morning Oregonian, 26 June 1893; Ralph, Harper’s Chicago, p. 564.
anachronistic. Unlike Lady Aberdeen, whose husband was now governor general of Canada, Alice Hart was under no obligation to dilute her political sympathies, culminating in her active promotion of Irish nationalism through the art gallery’s contents.

Overall though, Hart’s Donegal Village proved less popular than her rival’s. Lady Aberdeen’s ability to garner more press attention, particularly for her suggestion that the authentic Blarney stone was lodged at her castle, drew more patrons. This replica (Fig. 4.3) was two-thirds the size of the original and overlooked ‘a large profile map of Ireland, done in some kind of plaster, with the lakes and rivers etc all outlined.’ A green rug along its battlements marked the ‘stone’s’ location, beside which an accompanying Lawrence photograph instructed visitors how the ritual was traditionally performed. After receiving a certificate confirming their achievement, patrons were encouraged to browse the Irish goods on sale inside the cottages; a successful sales technique that by the end of May 1893 had reportedly made Lady Aberdeen’s village the fair’s most popular attraction. Throughout the following month its management struggled to meet a growing demand for stock, remitting £1,500 back to Ireland ‘with an earnest request to send on more goods as ready sale is being affected of all the lovely laces and artistic work.’ The American Catholic clergy ordered large quantities of embroidered vestments that contributed to the village’s average turnover of £2,000 a week. By October the Southern Star reported how the supply of bog oak ornaments and photographs were almost exhausted estimating that £16,000 worth of stock had so far provisioned the exhibit since its summer opening.

Dismayed at her inability to attract equivalent interest in her village, Alice Hart started a press campaign against Lady Aberdeen. In July 1893 the Daily Inter Ocean reported that the ‘the prettiest quarrel’ had broken out between them – ‘formerly fast friends, working together to help the down-trodden peasants of Ireland’ but now ‘doing

131 Irish Times, 28 Nov. 1893. Other artists exhibited included Rose Barton, William Miller, Miss O’Hara and Walter Severn. See The Times, 17 Apr. 1893; Daily Inter Ocean 10 May 1893; Atchison Daily Globe 17 May 1893.
133 The North American, 8 July 1893; The Daily Picayune, 15 Oct. 1893.
134 Irish Times, 20 May. 1893; Shepp, Shepp’s World’s Fair photographed, p. 486.
135 Irish Times, 17 June 1893.
137 Southern Star, 21 Oct. 1893.
their best to down each other.’ An anonymous letter posted to every newspaper in Chicago questioned Lady Aberdeen’s claim that her village contained the genuine Blarney stone. That same month the Irish Industrial Village’s hosting of an Irish dancing competition was countered in a matter of hours with a retaliatory drinks reception at the Donegal Village. ‘And so it goes,’ summarised the paper, revealing also how Chicago’s Mayor Harrison and other eminent Irish-Americans were wearing themselves out making speeches at the two locations.138 Two months later the Boston Advertiser reported that while in New York, Alice Hart had publicly called the Blarney stone a fraud, claiming people were being tricked into spending 25c to see it.139 Lady Aberdeen was certainly guilty as accused, having given an earlier fictitious account of the stone’s departure from Ireland in a speech delivered to a Chicago audience shortly before the Fair opened: ‘Thousands of people watched the departure of the sacred rock and hundreds of them pelted it with hawthorn blossoms and shamrock leaves. The good old song of “Let Erin Remember the Days of Old” rang out as the train with its gaily bedecked stone rolled away on its way to Queenstown, whence the stone was sent to Chicago.’140 When news of the controversy reached Ireland, an enraged Sir George Colthurst denied that even a fragment of the stone had ever left the country. Confronted on the issue, Lady Aberdeen blamed the American press for contorting her words and subsequently apologised to Colthurst for any upset caused.141

Meanwhile, press opinions varied on the ability of either village to portray Irish life authentically. The North American opined that both villages were ‘quaint and picturesque … so much alike that to describe one … is to describe both.’142 One commentator thought the Donegal Village less elaborate architecturally, but had nevertheless lots of Irish industries and girls who were ‘pure Celtic lassies.’143 Another agreed, judging it to be the representative exhibit of Ireland at Chicago.144 However, not all visitors were satisfied with what they saw. In an interview with the Southern Star, Rev. James O’Sullivan, recently returned from Chicago, branded Lady Aberdeen’s village a

138 Daily Inter Ocean, 29 July 1893.
139 Boston Daily Advertiser, 19 Sept. 1893; Daily Picayune 14 July 1893.
141 Irish Times, 12 Oct. 1893.
142 The North American, 8 July 1893.
143 Ralph, Harper’s Chicago, p. 563.
144 Smith, Art history, p. 81
failure: ‘not in a monetary sense, for they are lifting thousands of dollars, but as a representation of Ireland and Irish life, I am sorry to tell you it was much of a caricature. Neither the persons there, not the performances were truly representative of Ireland.’

One American journalist asked an Irish immigrant for his verdict on the same display: ‘It’s flunky’, he replied, ‘because it’s the everlasting running after titles. Lady Aberdeen may be a bonny lady and may want to help the poor of Ireland but it is not the true industries of Ireland, the real workers that she’s got here. It’s the Donegal Industry fund that’s done the real good.’ Intrigued, the reporter visited the Donegal Village for a comparison, noting how it’s lace-making, cottages and ruined castle made modern America seem far away. When one employee was queried about the difference between the villages, he answered: ‘The difference is the devilish poor imitation they are of us!’

Alice Hart encouraged her workers to propagate the view that her version of Ireland was the most accurate in local terms: ‘In [all] of these cottages I reproduce the same state of affairs that exist in Donegal, and if any one imagines that they are too primitive they have only to remember that the girls … come from a place thirty-six miles from a railway … and show the work that is now going on in hundreds of cottages where a few years ago there was idleness and poverty.’

Lady Aberdeen challenged this, stating that it was impossible to fully represent rural Irish life in a place where thousands of visitors passed daily, but that her interpretation came as close to reality as circumstances permitted.

In August 1893 the Irish Industrial Village came in for further criticism because of its perceived political messages. The *Southern Star* republished a letter from Reverend Richard Kane, Grandmaster of the Belfast Orange Lodge, accusing Lady Aberdeen of being a ‘Parnellite’ and creating ‘the impression that Ireland is a second Poland among the nations, oppressed by an alien and unjust rule in the lowest servitude and poverty; [needing] the hand of charity to lift her up from the most crude and primitive condition of industrial life.’ Furthermore, her village merely represented the peasant cottage industries of Ireland’s west coast rather than manufacturers of other regions. Ulster’s ‘colossal industries’ alone countered the notion that Ireland needed someone to ‘beg for it’, with

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145 *Southern Star*, 9 Dec. 1893
146 *Daily Inter Ocean*, 18 Aug. 1893.
Kane highlighting how most of Ireland’s finances came from its minority Protestant population: ‘It is … our privilege to contribute 90 per cent, as a rule, of the money contributed to the necessities of the population whose religious teachers and political guides encourage them to devote their energies and time rather to criminal agitation than to honest wage earning industry.’ Lady Aberdeen denied this indictment, reiterating the Irish Industries Association neutrality on contentious social issues, being fundamentally philanthropic to ensure cooperation between workers from all over Ireland. Unconvinced, Kane argued in a second letter that the organisation had finally shown itself to be a Home Rule party instrument, vindicating his original decision not to lend his support because of its ruinous scheme for Ireland, which as a patriotic Irishman he would never countenance.149

Unionist suspicions that Lady Aberdeen’s support for Home Rule would inevitably manifest itself in aspects of her village were apparently confirmed when it was widely reported that her Blarney Castle was without a Union Jack, flying instead three American and two green flags of Ireland. British Conservative politicians were outraged at the news, especially when it was alleged that this had been sanctioned out of deference to Irish-American feeling.150 The Irish World reported how the Conservatives intended to get parliament to censure Gladstone and his entire cabinet for allowing Ireland to exhibit independently, a reprimand the paper viewed as hypocritical: ‘In the matter of flags the loyalty of the Tories is truly edifying … Advising Orangemen in Belfast to make war on the Queen, and insulting the Prince of Wales by hooting at one of his guests are samples of recent Tory loyalty.’ In response, Mrs. Peter White, the acting director of the Irish Industrial Village, issued a statement reiterating its apolitical character: ‘there is no reason why the village should fly the British or any other flag, its objects being purely industrial. The only flags that will float over the village are the star spangled banner of the United States, our present hosts, and the ancient sunburst flag of Ireland.’151 Nonetheless, a Union Jack was eventually raised above Blarney Castle, but became the focus of political tension after Gladstone’s new Home Rule Bill was rejected later that year.

149 Southern Star, 19 Aug. 1893.
150 Ibid., 3 June 1893. See also The Emporia Gazette, 25 May 1893.
151 The Irish World, 3 June 1893.
The key reaction of Conservatives in this issue was part of a general anxiety that had crept yet again into Irish politics following the 1892 Ulster Unionist Convention in Belfast. This gathering was an organised response to the looming threat of a second Home Rule bill that was chaired by the second Duke of Abercorn. It was held in a specially constructed wooden pavilion erected in the city’s Botanic Gardens to accommodate the 12,000 picked delegates attending from across the province. In total an estimated 120,000 people converged on Belfast for an event endorsing a series of resolutions opposing Gladstone’s proposal to give autonomy to ‘a parliament controlled by men responsible for the crime and outrage of the Land League, the dishonesty of the Plan of Campaign, and the cruelties of boycotting, many of whom [were] the ready instruments of clerical domination.’ Speaker after speaker voiced their determination to reject the authority of any future Dublin parliament, with recourse to armed resistance if necessary. Across four platforms landlords and entrepreneurs were represented almost equally, emphasising to delegates that they were the natural leaders of loyalist Ulster. These men ensured that the convention reflected Ulster unionism’s new broad socio-economic support base, although the prominence given to Belfast businessmen indicated that the aristocracy’s influence was steadily declining within the movement.

Prior to the convention an American newspaper reported that Orange lodges were privately subscribing money for arms to carry out their threats to rebel against the notion of a Dublin government, disseminating the belief that civil war would be the inevitable outcome of Home Rule. In Derry one unionist shared this view with a visiting British reporter: ‘It is positively certain that if the bill becomes law there will be trouble. We don’t think our neighbours will cut our throats, but if the nationalist party get the upper hand in the struggle, there would be no safety for anyone who differed from them. Can it be doubted when the events of the last ten years are recalled?’ At a meeting of unionist

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153 The Times, 17 June 1892.
154 Miller, Queen’s rebels, p. 92.
155 Fleming, ‘The landed elite etc’, pp 94-95; idem, ‘Leadership, the middle class and Ulster unionism since the late-nineteenth century’ in Fintan Lane (ed) Politics, society and the middle class in modern Ireland’, p. 216.
156 Galveston Daily News, 07 May 1892.
157 Untitled newspaper cutting, nd, Second Home Rule papers, (1893), (P.R.O.N.I. T1633).
women elsewhere in the city, one speaker expressed sympathy for the atrocities their southern sisters had endured, losing husbands to assassins while frequently being subjected to threats and intimidation. Placing Home Rulers in charge of Ireland was thus a very dangerous prospect and would be akin to a gentleman taking ‘the management of his household from his wife and housekeeper’ and giving it over to his youngest, most incapable child.\textsuperscript{158} At a lecture in Portadown, barrister George Hill Smith refuted the claim that Ireland that had an inalienable right to autonomy like other white settlements in the British Empire. On the contrary:

\begin{quote}
there was no analogy whatever between Ireland and that of any colony on the globe, and for this reason that at the present moment Ireland has a right to send representatives to the Imperial parliament and no colony ever had such representation. Therefore this bill was not a bill to make Ireland a colony, but it was a bill to degrade Ireland as a portion of an integral portion of the United Kingdom.\textsuperscript{159}
\end{quote}

Another critic stated that a Dublin legislature mainly composed of farmers and labourers would completely misgovern Ulster because of their commercial ignorance. One tenant farmer similarly distrusted his southern compatriots, urging London to heed Ulster’s concerns: ‘It has been proved to the hilt that Ireland in Home Rule would mean Ireland crippled, Ireland degraded, Ireland poverty stricken. We as Irishmen, appeal to England to preserve us from such a humiliation. We appeal to England as freeborn citizens, loyal to our Queen, devoted to Crown and constitution.’\textsuperscript{160} The nationalist \textit{Southern Star} disagreed with these assertions, viewing Home Rule as the only way to pacify a restless Ireland and bring about reconciliation with England, where the move to establish local councils made local and regional government a feasible option.\textsuperscript{161}

As tensions mounted former Irish chief secretary, Arthur Balfour, arrived in Belfast in April 1893 to address an anti-Home Rule rally of 4,000 people at the Ulster Hall. Here he was welcomed by a flag displaying the Gaelic salutation: ‘\textit{Céad Míle Fáilte}’ – the same greeting that Queen Victoria had seen on arches along its streets during her visit to the city in 1849.\textsuperscript{162} For most of the nineteenth century, the linguistic study of Irish

\textsuperscript{158} \textit{Londonderry Sentinel}, 21 Mar. 1893.
\textsuperscript{159} \textit{Belfast Newsletter} 7 Mar. 1893.
\textsuperscript{160} Untitled newspaper cutting, nd, Second Home Rule papers, (1893), (P.R.O.N.I. T1633).
\textsuperscript{161} \textit{Southern Star}, 9 Dec. 1893.
\textsuperscript{162} \textit{The Daily Telegraph}, 5 Apr. 1893.
had been fashionable amongst some of Belfast’s upper middle-class Protestants, who founded the first society devoted to its preservation sixty years before the establishment of the Gaelic League in 1893. These enthusiasts regarded the language as having a romantic, academic appeal which transcended sectarian boundaries. At one point Irish had been the mother tongue of a number of small Protestant communities and had also been used by a minority within the Protestant clergy as part of their missionary effort. Statistical evidence shows that in Ulster, as in the rest of Ireland, the Irish language had been long in decline prior to the Famine. The 1872 edition of Black’s picturesque tourist of Ireland, estimated that only a tenth of the Irish population still spoke Gaelic as a native language, primarily in the south and west, where most of Lady Aberdeen’s colleens had been recruited from. The 1911 census reflected this decrease further, with the number of Irish speakers in Ulster now estimated at 28,729 or 2.3 per cent of its total population. The work of Douglas Hyde’s Gaelic League sought to reverse this trend and to promote the revival of Irish as a spoken language on a non-political and non-sectarian basis across all classes of Irish people. Its organisational structure was partially modelled on the Gaelic Athletic Association (1884), which aimed to harness nationalist energy in the promotion of Gaelic sports. From the outset Hyde attempted to appeal to Protestant unionists, arguing that although the revival of Irish was a scheme which most Irishmen would naturally look at from a Nationalist perspective, it was actually one which also ‘ought … to claim the sympathies of every intelligent [Irishman].’ His plea was initially successful, attracting a number of prominent unionists during the early years of the organisation’s expansion, including the Reverend Richard Kane, who became patron of the Belfast Branch of the League, and Lindsay Crawford, Grand Master of the Independent Orange Order, who actually stood for election to its executive committee. The former was also one of the main organisers of the 1892 Ulster Unionist Convention

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and may have had some input into the decision to mount a banner above its entrance proclaiming ‘Erin go Bragh’ (Ireland forever) to delegates, as well as the onstage flag Balfour encountered during his Belfast visit the following year.\textsuperscript{168}

Ulster unionism’s early use of the Irish language for self-definition was part of a general trend that would later also draw on iconography more commonly associated with Irish nationalism. However between this decade and 1914 there occurred a significant change in perception amongst unionists regarding its usage, as the Gaelic League came under the sway of Catholicism, which also appropriated Irish nationalism to its own ends. This deference to Catholic values became off-putting for many Ulster Protestants, who now found sanctuary in a British imperial identity and increasingly regarded the Gaelic League as a menace to the empire.\textsuperscript{169} During this period of heightened political tension the banners of the Orange Order now began to play a more vital part in visually expressing Ulster unionist identity. The Order refined its myths and symbols to distinguish ‘Ulster’ from the rest of Ireland, using a wider variety of themes that provided continuity with its earlier tradition. The concurrent professionalization of banner-making standardised size, shape and design, and although King William still dominated the iconic corpus a greater range of historical events and local places were now depicted in parades. This increased focus on local identity also diversified the portrayals of the monarch, who was now not only portrayed in his role as the Protestant victor over the Catholic King James, but in terms of his triumphant journey through the north of Ireland.\textsuperscript{170}

This fracturing of Irish ethnic identity along sectarian lines was reflected at the World’s Fair in October 1893 during ‘Erin’s Day’ and its celebration of past Irish-American achievements. The use of the name ‘Erin’ rather than ‘Ireland’ played to nationalist sentiments and may have been deemed appropriate in light of the number of women working as colleens at either location. A large parade marched along the Midway in which various Irish regiments of the American army participated, including the Minneapolis Hibernian Rifles watched by an estimated crowd of 100,000 Irish people.\textsuperscript{171} Chicago’s Archbishop Feehan led the procession and later read a letter from Gladstone

\textsuperscript{168} Gibbon, The origins of Ulster unionism, p. 132.
\textsuperscript{169} Andrews, ‘The very dogs in Belfast etc’, pp 52-53.
\textsuperscript{171} Daily Inter Ocean, 01 Oct. 1893.
assuring the crowd that ‘the distance between that recorded victory and the final investment of Ireland with full self-governing control over her domestic affairs is not only measurable but short.’

The bishop then delivered an address extolling the dual loyalty of Irish-Americans to both Ireland and the United States, stressing their mutual compatibility: ‘There are no people on this broad land that love their flag more earnestly than the Irish, and in the hour of distress there are none who would be more ready to come forward and rescue it from danger and peril than the Irish. But while they can love the green flag, the American-Irish are still true to the Stars and Stripes.’ He also stated that although the population of the United States was comprised of ‘many persons from other lands,’ it was the Irish who had always been the ‘less clannish’ of any ethnic group and had assimilated ‘most readily and rapidly with the American people’. Proceedings were brought to a close with a rendition of ‘The Minstrel Boy’, which had been a favourite marching song of many Irish Union regiments during the American civil war.

This show of ethnic pride was designed to further solidify Irish-American identity as a crucial element in the functioning of American society and assuage any lingering doubts regarding the danger Catholicism posed to its secular values. It also effectively excluded Irish-American Protestants from this distinction on religious grounds, although this group had already began to use the term ‘Scotch-Irish’ to distinguish themselves from members of the more recent Catholic influx.

Towards the end of October 1893, this expression of Catholic Irish-American identity turned more belligerent, when it was reported that some of its members had attempted to pull down the Union Jack raised over Blarney Castle in honour of the arrival of Lord Aberdeen, the new governor general of Canada. Some Irish-Americans gained access to the castle ramparts before village employees could chase them away. They returned later ‘and endeavoured to climb over the fence, but the guards were on the alert, and pounced upon the intruders.’ By the time a police patrol wagon arrived ‘a crowd [had] speedily collected, and it was evident that among the thousands who congregated around the wagon, the Irishmen had many sympathisers.’ Three police prisoners were freed.

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during the ensuing riot, but the mob was eventually contained when village security staff aided officers in arresting its ringleaders. 175 Several American newspapers reported the incident, with the *Sunday Oregonian* stating that fifteen Irishmen had initially attempted to pull down the flag, because they ‘did not consider it ought to be unfurled in an Irish village.’ After a pitched battle, three of the crowd were arrested before Lord Aberdeen appeared to express his disgust at the insult. 176 Village security was subsequently tightened with visitors prohibited from entering the castle altogether. The recent failure of Gladstone’s second Home Rule bill to pass the House of Lords had prompted this act of vandalism as angry Irish-Americans contested Ireland’s place as an integral part of the United Kingdom. Another plausible element in this fury may also have been the recent appointment of Lord Aberdeen as governor general of Canada. 177 Despite his public support for home rule Lord Aberdeen’s new position as the symbolic head of a self-governing British dominion may have affronted those immigrants who hoped the same for Ireland, intensifying their anger against a specific target whose tangible connection with empire only became truly offensive after the bill’s legislative failure. A few days later, a second attempt proved more successful and the guards apprehended two men who denied tearing down the flag. They were later released without evidence and ordered out of the grounds, but a suspicion remained that a village employee had secretly facilitated their entry. 178

**CONCLUSION**

Recounting the success of her Chicago venture to a Cork audience in 1894, Lady Aberdeen revealed that £17,000 worth of goods had been sold in Chicago; the demand was such that extra employees had come out from Ireland. ‘The universal opinion of those who came into the Irish village,’ she said, ‘was that it was a real bit of Ireland transplanted to the heart of Chicago.’ First generation Irish-Americans apparently agreed: ‘the old folk came to look at the old kettles and dressers … and I can tell you of … many a pathetic word that was uttered in that little village as people from the old country who never expected to see its shores again gathered together in their little cottages of their own kin

177 *Aberdeen Journal*, 12 May 1893.
178 *Sunday Inter Ocean*, 22 Oct. 1893. The men were named as Joseph O’Brien and Joseph Maher.
who were also striving to promote their own countries industries.¹⁷⁹ It seemed therefore
that the Irish Industrial Village had been more profitable than its rival, although listeners
were not told of the role the fake Blarney Stone had initially played in attracting
customers. A few days later Alice Hart gave an interview to the Irish Times, claiming that
patrons of the Donegal Village had considered it the most authentic display of the two.
Her evidence was her organisation’s winning of thirty-five medals for its embroideries and
the receipt of various invitations to other American fairs.¹⁸⁰

As a movement though, home industries declined after 1894 as cheap imports from
Europe and elsewhere flooded the British and Irish markets and became an overriding
factor in the eventual demise of both organisations. Swiss machine embroidery in
particular was cheaper and more stylish than anything either the Irish Industries
Association or Donegal Industrial Fund produced. Mechanised production competed with
ease and eventually displaced hand-made goods. American tariffs on knitted items also
contributed to this failure with sales in the United States dependent on individual private
orders rather than wholesale demand.¹⁸¹

Taken together, the two Irish villages at Chicago appear to have been a successful
short-term enterprise. Their appearance was timely, coinciding as they did with changing
perceptions of Irish immigrants as a group more willing to assimilate with American
mainstream culture. Previous fears about their intractability became less evident and the
depiction of stage Irish figures in contemporary advertising highlighted this shift. Both
model villages embodied this process of ethnic commodification by presenting Ireland as a
visual product reliant on picturesque architecture to make it intelligible to visitors. Many
of these were second generation Irish-Americans who were likely never to have visited
Ireland and thus held complex images of the country derived in part from relatives and in
part from the work of commercial photographs.¹⁸² Alice Hart and Lady Aberdeen’s
contrasting versions of Ireland allowed Irish-Americans to choose which interpretation
best suited their mental picture of the country. Some, thus equipped, might be prompted to
visit eventually. The common depiction of Irish life in both locations reflected the goals of

¹⁷⁹ Irish Times, 4 June 1894.
¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 28 Nov. 1893; The Times, 05 Dec. 1893.
¹⁸¹ Bourke, Husbandry to housewifery, pp 132-36.
¹⁸² Richard Prentice and Vivien Andersen, ‘Evoking Ireland: modelling tourist propensity’ in Annals of
the home industries movement through its promotion of an existence untainted by modern progressivism. This repackaging of the notion of Ireland for visual consumption occurred during a tumultuous political period at home that intruded, if briefly, upon the Chicago World’s Fair when the Union Jack was twice attacked in the Irish Industrial Village.

Significantly, both model villages had their genesis in a display exhibited in London five years previously. Alice Hart’s smaller scale hamlet was displayed at Olympia during the Irish Exhibition, which aimed to present a positive image of Ireland to a sceptical British audience weary of constant press reports about the lawless state of the country. Its primary objectives were to boost Irish exports of manufactured articles to other regions of the empire, while simultaneously reviving tourism through sales of the book *Tours in Ireland*. This publication’s neutral tone chimed with the organisers’ policy to isolate Ireland politically and use its commodities instead as a focal point for aesthetic and linguistic contemplation. From the outset though this objective was fraught with difficulties, as the scheduling of the fair coincided with a new militant phase of the plan of campaign. Furthermore, the organising committee’s decision to mount a generic eviction scene on the lawn outside the main hall as entertainment exploited the situation in Ireland for profit that also compromised the exhibition’s stated impartiality. This was also true of the ‘sham battle’ around the replica of St. Laurence’s Gate, where British regiments triumphed over rebellious Indian sepoys in a blaze of pyrotechnics borrowed from the staging techniques of Victorian sensationalist drama. Here Ireland’s part in securing India and its resources was celebrated, some of which regularly found their way to Irish firms via the imperial trade network for processing then sale in the marketplace. One such company were Cork tea merchants, Newsom & Sons, who displayed a selection of Indian teas in a large cabinet for visitors that also included samples of a new coffee called ‘Café de Paris.’ This brand was marketed through a pictorial advertisement in *Tours of Ireland*, showing a picturesque illustration of Blarney Castle that mingled imperial capitalism with tourism together in one potent image. However, the sham battle’s commemoration of British imperialism did not go unchallenged as the refusal of the Barrack Street band to play the national anthem during

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184 *Tours in Ireland*, p. 49.
185 Richards, *The commodity culture etc*, pp 30-32.
the final part of the re-enactment demonstrated. This unwelcome action along with another subsequent refusal to play ‘God Save the Queen’ caused public outrage that negatively impacted on the exhibition’s long-term success. Visitor numbers dropped drastically in the wake of the controversy despite having risen initially with the staging of the fancy fair in July 1888. During this event aristocratic women like Lady Aberdeen played at shop girls for a day, cooperating with the female employees hired as colleens to sell a range of goods to visitors. The close association between these two iconic figures was embodied in Alice Hart’s decision to use the colleen archetype as a sales assistant in her model village, resulting in a feminization of Irish life that was designed to make it more palatable to British audiences.186 This voyeuristic display of female bodies in the imperial capital was repeated at the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair, where their mercantile purpose was identical albeit one that linked them directly with the character of Erin by virtue of that same year’s failed Home Rule bill.187 The colleen’s association with international exhibitions would reach its zenith in 1908 when McClinton’s soap company reified this symbol as the brand personality for one of its products, culminating in an extensive advertising campaign that influenced Ulster unionist propaganda against the final attempt to introduce Home Rule.

187 Helland, British and Irish home arts etc, p. 56.
INTRODUCTION
This chapter examines how McClinton’s Soap Company of Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone, propagated a sanitised version of Ireland through its model Irish village built for the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition in London. It shows that its central images were later used in a sophisticated advertising campaign, emphasising the properties of the firm’s ‘Colleen’ soap while simultaneously reaffirming Ulster’s loyalty to the Union. By promising a healthy complexion, this product allowed female consumers to identify themselves with a homogenous beauty symbolic of British citizenship. McClinton’s membership of the Irish Industrial Development Association was crucial to this process, allowing the company use of a national trademark on promotional material. This chapter investigates the political context within which McClinton’s marketing strategy developed and shows how Ulster unionism later used the colleen archetype in its visual propaganda against Home Rule.

THE BRITISH SOAP INDUSTRY, 1850-1910
In Britain from the start of the eighteenth-century to 1852 soap was subject to an excise tax varying between 1d to 3d per lb that impeded its market demand. 1 Irish soap by comparison, was exempt from duty leaving native manufacturers free to import raw materials from England then export the finished product back at a price undercutting local manufacturers. A parliamentary commission in 1836 had unsuccessfully recommended extending a soap tax to Ireland; the government’s inaction outraged British soap-makers, who argued that lower-grade Irish soap continued to have an unfair competitive advantage in the market place. 2 Sustained pressure from these traders led in 1852 to a complete repeal of the duty, precipitating the modernisation and mechanisation of the industry that increased soap production exponentially over the next sixty years. By 1913 the average weekly output of Lancashire factories exceeded the total annual

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1 The Times, 9 July 1913.
2 The Times, 4 Apr. 1836; Ibid., 28 Oct. 1852. In 1848 the quantity of hard soap imported into Great Britain from Ireland was 216,509lb.
production of all British soap manufacturers in the 1850s, with consumption in Britain estimated at 14lb per head of population – the largest of any country other than the United States. Between 1900 and 1910 British soap exports rose from 43,630 tons to 74,712 tons, primarily to distant parts of the empire. During the nineteenth-century’s latter decades the soap industry’s link to the imperial economic nexus deepened, as raw materials were increasingly taken from abundant overseas sources. Palm oil from west Africa and copra from Malabar were transported to British refineries. A rise in contemporary living standards combined with a growing awareness of hygiene’s connection to good health fed soap consumption amongst a population now mainly clustered in heavily industrialised urban areas, commonly polluted with choking smoke and grime.

By 1900 Lever Bros. had established itself as the largest British soap manufacturer, operating from a model factory village, Port Sunlight, near Liverpool. Its construction had coincided with the Irish Exhibition at Olympia in 1888. The company’s innovative use of American advertising techniques had been a major factor in its success, compelling rivals to adopt similar promotional methods. Pictorial advertising was consequently elevated to new heights of artistic sophistication in which spotless servants and red-cheeked factory girls came to symbolise ‘a purified working class cleansed of polluting labour.’ Cultural historian, Annie McClintock, argues that Victorian soap advertising usually depicted an improvement allegory, where the purification of the domestic body became a metaphor for the regeneration of the body politic.6 This renewal also applied to non-European races and to soap’s mythical capacity to wash black skin

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3 The Times, 17 June 1911; The Times, 9 July 1913. In 1852 the weekly production of soap in Britain was 1,000 tons and over £1,000,000 in tax collected that year. In 1870 this production had doubled.
5 Turner, The shocking history of advertising, pp 85-100; Jubb, Cocoa and corsets, p. 5; Church and Clark, ‘Product development’, p. 532; McClintock, Imperial leather, pp 212-214; Hugh Oram, The advertising book: the history of advertising in Ireland (Dublin, 1986), p. 15; The Times, 28 Apr. 1914. In 1887 Thomas J. Barratt, owner of Pear’s Soap, bought a portrait by the artist John Everett Millais of his grandson blowing bubbles, which was later altered to include a bar of company soap for use in a highly successful advertising campaign.
6 McClintock, Imperial leather, pp 211-14.
white that was part of a general dissemination of imperial concepts and images throughout contemporary commodity culture.  

In such illustrations soap was endowed with special fetish powers that enlarged and enforced British influence in colonial regions. Recurrence of this theme also occurred in apocryphal newspaper articles detailing soap’s ability to save westerners during adverse colonial encounters. In 1899 the *Irish Times* published one example, which described how soap saved the lives of a British crew shipwrecked on New Guinea’s inhospitable coast. With armed natives advancing towards them, the captain opened a drifting case and presented a tablet to their curious chief, who tried eating it before shown its proper use. ‘For the next ten minutes,’ testified the captain, ‘there was a scrubbing among those copper skins. Their weapons were thrown down and they bathed one another, and then tossed the water over their bodies.’ As a reward for their offering the sailors were made honorary tribesmen until their rescue a fortnight later by a British war sloop combing the area for wreckage. The natives, meanwhile, decorated their idol house with discarded soap packaging, worshipping its images in reverence.

Other such stories about soap appeared frequently in the contemporary press, suggesting that their propagation was perhaps designed to generate popular support for imperialism, based on the premise that social evolution would be achieved with British dominance. A recurring theme equated barbarism with lack of hygiene and may have originated in Elizabethan discourse on Ireland, when a contemporary soldier recounted how the Gaelic Irish greedily ate bars of soap whenever they were given them. This in turn influenced the way soap companies marketed their products to the public. A newspaper advertisement for Lever’s Sunlight soap from 1899 showed an illustration of British soldiers placing an eponymous sign on a wall near the captured palace at Khartoum to the bemusement of watching locals. Entitled ‘The March of Civilization’ it also featured eyewitness letters to owner William H. Lever, confirming the incident had followed the city’s capitulation. According to one army engineer this had been done

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8 Richards, *The commodity culture*, p. 123.
9 *Irish Times*, 10 June 1899.
solely on the soldiers’ initiative and was all the more significant because the sign currently remained the only advertisement in Sudan.11

The promotion of soap as a sign of Britain’s evolutionary superiority reached its apex during the late 1890s with the appearance of monkeys in corporate advertising campaigns. ‘Monkey Brand’ was a variety of toilet soap common to all major manufacturers, whose graphic simians humorously demonstrated their product’s supposed benefits. As an icon for metamorphosis, the monkey symbolised industrial progress and imperial evolution, and had been explicitly associated with Irish male violence in the latter half of the nineteenth century.12 The end of serious land agitation in Ireland after 1890 precipitated the erasure of Irish simians from the cartoons of British periodicals. It also coincided with the establishment of the Irish Tourist Association and its rehabilitation of the country’s violent reputation through the wide publication of photographs of its picturesque scenery. The fact that British soap firms excluded Irish themes from their soap monkey advertisements suggests a gradual perceptual shift was already underway, likely twinned with a commercial reluctance to alienate potential customers in a domestic market that encompassed Ireland. Furthermore, the notorious Irish penchant for dirt was beginning to recede in the popular imagination as living conditions in Ireland improved under the Conservative government’s policy of constructive unionism.13 Writing to his mother in 1901, new chief secretary, George Wyndham, described Ireland as the Cinderella of the United Kingdom, ‘poor and hurt but … one of the family.’ He thus justified his 1903 land act as uplifting the Irish population ‘to be healthy [and] energetic’ subjects.14 Wyndham also supported the idea of turning Ireland into a ‘civilised’ tourist resort attractive to visitors, because of the boost it would bring to the native economy. He believed that the unhealthy and impoverished living conditions of the working-class undermined the Empire because it reduced their capacity to defend it. During the South African war (1899-1902) the high number of volunteers rejected for active service had aroused national anxiety, prompting a government investigation that revealed urban poverty as the cause of such widespread poor health. As

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international tensions mounted the idea that Britain needed a fit population capable of defending the country received more currency, which was reflected in the new Liberal administration’s series of social reform bills after 1906.15

In July of that year, a sharp rise in the price of raw materials precipitated a crisis for British soap-makers as the world consumption of fats and oils overtook supply, pushing up costs. Added to this was a gradual decline in soap sales related to the fall in real wages because of a slowdown in the British economy. In 1905 the firm of Lever Bros. had achieved its highest ever sales – £307,000 – but at a disproportionately heavy cost of press advertising relative to its overall profit.16 Having originally mooted the idea of forming a cartel around this time, William Lever now went ahead and organised a merger with several competitors, predicting that £1 million a year would be saved in advertising revenue for all involved.17 In conjunction with this Lever also raised the price of his Sunlight soaps, effectively cutting the income of some retailers by up to twenty-five per cent.18 He justified this increase relative to the enormous cost of raw materials, which in some cases had risen 100 per cent in twenty years.19

The Irish Times published a press statement assuring sceptics that the cartel’s sole purpose was to minimise price rises as much as possible. Each firm would continue normal operations with their respective toiletries remaining affordable to the public.20 Luxury soap manufacturers were excluded from this arrangement, which consisted primarily of companies trading in the household market. Total capital was estimated at £16,000,000, the majority invested by Lever Bros.21 The Irish Independent however, questioned the true motives behind this initiative, editorialising that ‘the public may be pardoned for viewing with some suspicion a combination … employing twenty-five thousand men.’22 It reported that William Lever’s assurances that the amalgamation was

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17 Wilson, The history of Unilever, p. 76.
19 The Times, 3 Nov. 1906.
21 Irish Independent, 10 Oct. 1906; Ibid., 11 Oct. 1906.
22 Ibid., 13 Oct. 1906.
unlike an American trust were largely discredited because of the consensus that the move was merely a pretext for his company to monopolise production at the consumer’s expense.\(^\text{23}\) To cut costs many of the associated firms had already dismissed large numbers of employees, who were now applying for jobs at companies still outside the cartel.

As its only Irish member, John Barrington & Co., Dublin, reassured consumers that company toiletries would continue to be produced in Ireland, despite persistent press claims to the contrary. The company’s decision to join the cartel had been based on the rising cost of raw materials and its potential to turn every native soap factory into ‘a derelict building.’ Barrington stated that English soap-makers with their vast capital and tremendous output could have easily destroyed Irish manufacturers, but had instead refrained out of ‘kindness’ to local industry. He dismissed a letter published elsewhere alleging his firm’s success was due to its affiliation with the Irish Industries Development Association, declaring it a botched enterprise that had continually failed to generate extra trade for those companies under its umbrella. Mr. Ryan, the owner of the Shandon Soap Works in Cork contested this assertion, arguing that his firm had actually received more orders because of its Association membership, enabling him to make gains against Lever’s market dominance.\(^\text{24}\) Another independent Irish company, Dixon & Co., Dublin, criticised Barrington for giving the cartel ‘a footing in Ireland which it would otherwise not have got.’ Furthermore, native manufacturers were now threatened, precipitating the calling of a conference to discuss the situation. This convened in Dublin, where delegates agreed to resist the combine’s likely attempt to flood Ireland with its products. At a similar gathering in Belfast the city’s grocers’ association passed a resolution recommending its members trade exclusively with independent firms. This action was to be taken in support of local soap-makers like Robert Brown (1861-1954), who reiterated to one newspaper that Ulster manufacturers would never join the cartel because their workers’ exposure to dismissal was a prerequisite for membership.\(^\text{25}\) In November 1906, Robert Brown met Ryan to discuss forming a group that would protect Irish firms in the event of overwhelming pressure from Lever’s cartel. Following this, Ryan stated publicly

\(^\text{23}\) Ibid., 23 Oct. 1906.
\(^\text{24}\) Ibid., 23-26 Oct. 1906.
that Barrington was blind to the danger its brazen profiteering posed to Ireland’s soap industry. In a show of solidarity Drogheda shopkeepers refused to stock cartel soaps, hanging posters in their windows urging customers to buy Irish brands. Earlier that month, Monaghan County Council had also announced its opposition to the monopoly, passing a resolution supporting Irish made soap and telling people to boycott all toiletries originating elsewhere.

In Britain public hostility towards the amalgamation was just as vociferous with the retailer’s federation issuing a statement informing customers ‘to transfer loyalty to firms outside the Trust.’ In Manchester local soap merchants formed the Lancashire and Yorkshire Anti Soap Trust Association that enabled independent manufacturers to mobilise against the cartel. Birmingham’s grocers adopted the boycotting tactics used in Ireland by refusing to supply its stock. Consumer demand dropped, with one London dealer noting how sales of such products had fallen by sixty per cent in the weeks since their appearance. Disgruntled chandlers in Liverpool demanded a meeting with William Lever to discuss the situation, calling on local merchants to shun Sunlight products until this happened. In parliament concern was raised about the cartel’s seventy-five per cent control of Britain’s soap industry and its potential to lead to an exploitative monopoly. Speaking on behalf of the Board of Trade, David Lloyd-George M.P., stated that the government would monitor the situation very closely before commenting publicly on the merger. Lever's self-claimed commitment to free trade was questioned by some sections of the press, which argued that his recent actions implied otherwise. He replied in an interview that the cartel had no ability or desire to prevent free-trading in soap or its raw materials, and was merely a benevolent association of employers mutually pledged to assist each other.

In an effort to regain the initiative, Lever accepted the long-standing invitation from the Liverpool merchants to address them at an assembly so as to clarify his position. The event ended in farce when hecklers forced him to leave the stage following an angry

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26 Ibid., 27 Oct. 1906; Ibid., 11 Nov. 1906; Ibid., 17 Nov. 1906.
27 Irish Times, 27 Oct. 1906; Ibid., 3 Nov. 1906. Other associations against the combine included the West Wales Lunatic Asylum, the Hull Grocer’s Association and the Somersetshire Grocer’s Association.
28 Irish Independent, 3 Nov. 1906.
30 Hansard 4 (Commons) clxiv, cc1002-3 (12 Nov. 1906).
31 Irish Independent, 19 Oct. 1906.
outburst from an audience worried about the possibility that local jobs would be lost in the drive towards greater economy in all cartel firms.\textsuperscript{32} Writing in \textit{The Times} A.H. Crosfield, a fellow manufacturer, denied that the organisation’s prime agenda was to establish a monopoly, but rather the ‘interchange of experience and knowledge in regard to the application of scientific methods to manufacture.’ Recent promotional costs had also risen in tandem with the price of raw materials precipitating the cartel’s other aim of reducing overheads ‘by getting rid of the frenzied advertising which has been developed the last few years in our trade.’\textsuperscript{33} Despite such protestations the public continued to boycott cartel toiletries, leading some members to reconsider their allegiance and the cartel’s ability to successfully market their products to consumers.

Cracks had began to appear at the end of October 1906 when a prominent Leeds firm withdrew from the cartel because of the failure of Lever Bros. to consult them regarding a price hike on 15oz soap tablets. The \textit{Irish Times} correctly predicted the cartel’s collapse, reporting that some British retailers had deliberately raised the price of cartel soaps in a further bid to deter the public from buying them.\textsuperscript{34} Such persistent agitation succeeded in forcing the cartel to dissolve itself a month later, and its associated companies each reverted to its previous trading arrangement.\textsuperscript{35} A jubilant \textit{Irish Independent} called the dissolution a triumph for every Irish firm that had remained outside its control.\textsuperscript{36} At Port Sunlight workers were also reportedly satisfied with the outcome because it now secured their jobs in the face of a redundancy scheme.\textsuperscript{37} A satisfied Robert Brown noted in his diary how lingering public resentment continued to cost these companies business, a situation he planned to take full advantage of.\textsuperscript{38}

As Lever Bros. fought to repair its reputation, shares in the company dropped by half a million pounds. During that year’s general election William Lever lost his parliamentary seat, becoming involved in litigation against \textit{The Daily Mail} for a series of

\textsuperscript{32} Ibid., 1 Nov. 1906; Ibid., 3 Nov. 1906. On 27 October 1906, the \textit{Irish Times} reported that in Wakefield 400 workers at Hodgson’s soap works were concerned for their livelihood because the firm was now in the control of Lever Bros. They were in the dark about the future of the soap works, fearing that it would inevitably close.
\textsuperscript{33} \textit{The Times}, 3 Nov. 1906.
\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Irish Times}, 3 Nov. 1906; \textit{Irish Independent}, 29 Oct. 1906.
\textsuperscript{35} \textit{Irish Times}, 26 Nov. 1906.
\textsuperscript{36} \textit{Irish Independent}, 24 Nov. 1906.
\textsuperscript{37} \textit{Irish Times}, 24 Nov. 1906.
\textsuperscript{38} Diary of Robert Brown, Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone, 1896-1914 (P.R.O.N.I. MIC 604/1).
defamatory articles advising people against purchasing cartel soaps. These pieces, some of which were accompanied by cartoons showing Lever as a grotesque tyrant ruling over the sweated labour camp of ‘Port Moonshine, also accused him of attempting to buy up the press and he hired future Ulster unionist leader, Sir Edward Carson as his senior counsel.39 In court, Carson argued that ‘no money could wipe out the sufferings of weeks and months during which its charges were hurled against the business of Lever Brothers’, suggesting that its cancellation a £6,000 advertising contract with *The Daily Mail* was the real reason for the campaign against his client. A subsequent out-of-court settlement netted Lever £50,000 along with costs, but it was a phryric victory that failed to restore his company’s domination of the British soap market.40

Capitalising on the continuing flux in the price of raw materials, small firms now sought to undercut larger rivals for a share of trade. The refusal of Lever Bros. to do likewise further eroded its position as some British manufacturers now looked abroad to less crowded markets.41 The prevalence of tariffs however, proved a barrier to export and in 1909 *The Times* complained how British manufacturers were unable to sell their toiletries in countries like Germany and France, whose manufacturers flooded Britain’s free market with cheap products fraudulently labelled as native.42 In Ireland this malpractice had been ongoing since at least 1886 when the proprietor of the Erne Soap Works in Dublin, wrote to one national newspaper criticising the amount of ‘imported soaps sold under such names as Erin, National, Shamrock etc, all calculated to lead the public to believe that they are Irish made.’ His own products were each stamped with his company name, ‘so that housekeepers, in order to protect themselves, should ask for and see that they get them as they are superior to any imported.’43 However, he neglected to mention that Irish soap-makers also engaged in similar tactics when selling to certain niche markets. In 1902 the *All Ireland Review* revealed that manufacturers trading in luxury-soap often sold their products in Britain under French titles to attract upper class buyers reluctant to buy fancy products with an Irish name and taken, perhaps, for the

41 *The Times*, 17 Sept. 1907.
42 Ibid., 1 Dec. 1909.
43 *Irish Times*, 16 Nov. 1886.
current fashion for things French engendered by the spirit of the entente cordiale. This ruse gave advantage against British rivals. In contrast, favoured Irish household soap enjoyed a good reputation amongst British consumers, some of who often preferred it to local brands.44 This was not automatically the case in Ireland where non-native brands comprised between thirty to forty per cent of total sales. The demand for Irish soap was most intensive in Ulster with English brands more popular in the cities of Dublin, Cork and Limerick. A major factor in this was their packaging and sophisticated advertising techniques, which consumers frequently favoured to the detriment of Irish goods.45

Native soap-makers were not the only Irish producers exposed to losses through deception. In 1903 Chief Secretary Wyndham was informed that low-grade American butter was currently retailing in Manchester as Irish produce. He ordered the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction to conduct an investigation that led to 524 prosecutions between 1908 and 1910.46 Two years later a group of Irish tobacco manufacturers petitioned parliament that a British cartel was exporting large quantities of tobacco to Ireland while masquerading as a native company. It requested that it pass a bill prohibiting the sale of tobacco that deliberately concealed its place of origin. Secretary to the Board of Trade, Andrew Bonar-Law M.P., promised an inquiry into the matter and assured producers that convictions would arise if such an allegation were found true.47 Similarly, the Irish Independent reported that a significant quantity of Scottish and English exports branded as Irish were marketed in the United States amongst Irish-Americans, including whiskey, bacon, linen, tweeds, and even bog oak.48

As a means of combating such traffic, the Irish Industries Development Association was founded in 1903 to increase corporate awareness about how advertising could raise a firm’s profile abroad. It was billed as an informal alliance of ‘gentlemen traders and others who [have] taken up Irish industries in a patriotic spirit, and [who desire] Irish goods to be purchased on their merits.’49 As part of the Irish-Ireland movement, the Association encouraged grocers to stock native produce, attracting the

46 Hansard 4 (Commons) cxxii, cc933-4 (18 May 1903); Hansard 5 (Commons), xxxii, cc2334-5W, (12 December 1911).
47 Hansard 4 (Commons) cxlvii, cc1140-1 (05 Jul. 1905).
48 Irish Independent, 27 Feb. 1905.
49 Irish Times, 28 Mar. 1908.
support of many firms based in Ulster, including Mc Clintons of Donaghmore, Co.
Tyrone; the firm owned by Robert Brown. At the annual meeting of its Cork branch in
1905 a motion was passed, advocating the adoption of an Irish trademark ‘as a guarantee
that the [items] marked therewith are of Irish make’.50 A National Trades Mark
Committee was established offering a three-guinea prize for best original design from the
general public.51 ‘With Irish goods protected by a distinctive mark,’ wrote one paper, ‘the
imposition on the unwary purchaser of foreign goods for home-made article will be next
to impossible.’52 The winning design consisted of a Celtic motif inside a circle,
containing the words ‘Déanta in Éirinn’, or ‘Made in Ireland’, which was then later fixed
to all association products.53 An approving Irish Times congratulated the Irish Industries
Development Association on its foresight in securing a national trademark for Ireland; the
first time a country had obtained such a thing for all its merchandise.54 ‘By securing an
Irish trademark,’ declared its editorial

the Association … has done a great deal to put an end to fraudulent practices, and the
manner in which it has followed up cases of non-Irish manufactures being sold on the
other side of the channel as being manufactured in Ireland has given it a distinct claim to
the support of every manufacturer in this country.55

By 1908 the total number of Irish companies using the national trademark reached 320.
That same year several cases came before the Registrar of Trademarks regarding the
fraudulent use of Irish iconography and Gaelic words on products manufactured in
Britain. One Birmingham bed-maker was refused permission to record the word
‘shamrock’ as a brand name, while a Welsh baker was prohibited from using the word
‘sláinte’ on flour packets. An English postcard company also applied to register a
representation of a shamrock with the words ‘and Co.’ joined to the stem.56 The
Association took a lawsuit against this firm on the grounds that such a trademark would
decieve purchasers into assuming the goods were of Irish origin. At the High Court in

50 Irish Independent, 16 Aug. 1905.
51 Ibid., 9 Dec. 1905.
52 Ibid., 22 Feb. 1906.
53 Connolly, The Oxford companion to Irish history, p. 268.
54 Irish Times, 15 Dec. 1906
55 Ibid., 30 Aug. 1907.
56 Freeman’s Journal, 5 May 1908.
London the counsel for the defence refuted the charge, arguing that his client had never declared itself an Irish business and stamped ‘Printed in Saxony’ on all material to avoid confusion. After hearing the evidence Mr. Justice Warrington stated that the use of a shamrock, not as a mere decoration, but as a distinctive mark, indicated that the thing in respect of which it was used was Irish or in some way connected with Ireland. No one seeing a soldier with a shamrock on his collar would doubt that he belonged to an Irish regiment … If used in a decorative design, it was emblematic of Ireland, much more was it so if used as a trade mark to distinguish the goods of the person using it from those of another.

Under section eleven of the 1905 Trademarks Act, he ruled in favour of the Association, stating that the shamrock’s prominence suggested the cards were of Irish manufacture. Three years previously the Master of the Rolls had made a similar judgement in a case concerning the use of the word ‘shamrock’ on a non-Irish soap product. Finding on behalf of the plaintiff he summarised that if patriotism rather than deception had been the aim of the design in question, then it should have included a round tower, a wolfhound or a sunburst as an embellishment. In a letter to the *Irish Times* Robert Brown commended this decision, revealing his support for any legal action against firms pretending to be Irish businesses, especially in the soap trade where such fraud had always been common.

**The Colleen Archetype**

Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries the relationship between Ireland and Britain was commonly represented as gendered in Irish poetry. The island was a variously named woman – Banba, Èire – whose contested body had been captured and sullied by a foreigner, and contaminated with colonisation and plantations. A form of ideological resistance emerged in the eighteenth century with the development of the *aisling* (dream) poem and its portrayal of the beautiful woman’s honour/sovereignty being restored following a resumption of the Stuart monarchy. In 1707 Jonathan Swift...

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58 Ibid., 24 Jan. 1905.
59 Sean Ryder, ‘Gender and the discourse of “Young Ireland” cultural nationalism’, in Timothy P. Foley et al (eds.), *Gender and colonialism*, (Galway, 1995) p. 212; Sarah E. McKibben, ‘Speaking the unspeakable:...
then applied a similar trope to his first Irish pamphlet entitled *The story of the injured lady*, which criticised that year’s Union between England and Scotland in the form of a missive written by a young woman (Ireland) to a friend, detailing her betrayal at the hands of a rapacious gentlemen (England) now in love with her fickle rival (Scotland).  

This maiden figure persisted in Irish poetry until the Battle of Culloden in 1746, when the Sean Bhean Bhocht (poor old woman) replaced her to become the prime literary trope embodying the shame of Ireland’s conquest.

Analogous to this was the graphic appearance of Hibernia as a counterpart to Britannia. This icon had originated on English and Irish coins minted in the seventeenth century, before featuring on Irish Volunteer badges during the early 1780s. Depicted as a beautiful young woman garbed in classical drapery, Hibernia was also used by the United Irishmen as a symbol of an inclusive nationalism. Prior to Union in 1800 several contemporary British cartoons showed her as a helpless maiden requiring Britannia’s sisterly protection, a theme later artists used whenever Irish agrarian or nationalist violence threatened the stability of the United Kingdom. Her depiction in these illustrations – beautiful, graceful, spiritual and submissive – contrasted with that of her male populace who were usually shown as violent, simian agitators in need of strong patriarchal government.  

Once this happened it was envisaged that Hibernia would become a dutiful wife for John Bull and embrace him fully rather than being the shy object of his affections, as represented in many other nineteenth-century British cartoons. Conversely, Irish nationalist cartoonists also used this latter premise throughout the 1880s to show the British government’s attempts to meet both the Land League and Home Rule party’s demands, as a means of restoring law and order in Ireland. In these images Hibernia was renamed Erin after the mythic goddess who gave her name to the island and whose vivacity contrasted with the passivity of her latinized

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male humiliation and female national allegory after Kinsale’ in *Éire-Ireland* Vol. 43, Nos. 3&4 (Fall/Winter 2008), p. 12. (Hereafter: McKibben, ‘Speaking the unspeakable’).


61 Ryder, ‘Gender and the discourse etc’ p. 213.


63 Innes, *Woman and nation*, p. 15.

sister. This incarnation symbolised not only the imagined community of the Gaelic nation but also the militant nationalism that emerged after 1879, following an alliance between the parliamentary Home Rule and agrarian tenant right movements. Erin’s appearance frequently resembled Hibernia’s classical portrayal, though artists like John F. O’Hea and Thomas Fitzpatrick increasingly depicted her as an Irish peasant girl, drawing inspiration from the work of earlier nineteenth-century Irish painters and their contemporaries on the continent.  

Throughout Europe the peasant girl had been a popular subject in mid nineteenth century art because of her perceived ‘earthy eroticism’ that linked her back to a pre-industrialised past. Between 1860 and 1881 Irish painters such as Thomas A. Jones, made her the subject of a series of paintings he titled *The Irish Colleen*. Similarly Augustus Burke’s *The Connemara Girl* (1868) is another example of what became known as the ‘Colleen genre’. In these paintings the attractive subject is usually dark-haired with round clear facial features inside a green-tinged tunic or cloak. The word ‘colleen’ itself is a direct translation from the Irish word for young girl: *cailín*, the suffix ‘*ín’ denoting her junior status and social standing. The phenomenal success of Dion Boucicault’s play, *The Colleen Bawn* (1860), had popularised the term in the Victorian imagination, whose original association with the Irish landscape became more politicised during the land war, when she joined both Erin and the Sean Bhean Bhocht as a female epitome of the Irish nation. Moreover, the colleen’s appearance at various contemporary exhibitions as a purveyor of Irish commodities aligned her with the shop-girl figure of late nineteenth-century capitalist culture, extending her diverse appeal beyond Irish nationalism and into the realm of commercial activity. Her ubiquity grew at the start of the twentieth century when illustrations of colleens began to appear on picture postcards sent to various international addresses. Some of these were set in urban locations, reflecting the growth of the market economy and its pull on rural migration to Irish towns. These images influenced how peasant girls were visually conceptualised abroad, prompting tourists to seek out and photograph their own examples while travelling in Ireland.

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One such image can be found in American B.E. Stevenson’s travelogue *The charm of Ireland* and its accompanying description of the author’s encounter with a peasant girl cutting turf in a Connemara bog sometime between 1913 and 1914. The girl’s mother permitted the picture to be taken and told her daughter in Irish ‘to hold still and do as the gentleman wished.’ However, the girl hesitated so that she could let down her kilted dress before posing in front of the camera. Stevenson entitled the resulting picture ‘Two Tiny Connaught Toilers’ (Fig. 5.1), using it as the frontispiece to his book when it was later published in 1915. It shows a shoeless girl and donkey standing beside each other in the middle of a road trailing through a desolate landscape. The girl holds the reins of her donkey, whose empty panniers will be shortly filled from the turf stack behind them. Like other poor children in contemporary Connemara she wears a ‘red flannel dress’, against which a long stick rests to show the scale of her diminutive stature. The girl’s awkward smile indicates her consciousness of the situation, but her reported reluctance to be photographed without first adjusting her garment suggests an agency that is only gleaned through a reading of Stevenson’s complementary text. Having got his picture Stevenson gave the delighted girl a coin before continuing further into Connemara in the hope of capturing similar female subjects with his Kodak.69

This objectification of rural Irish femininity in Irish travelogues written between 1800 and 1914 was at one with the artistic glorification of peasant women in nineteenth-century European art. In Ireland this veneration was even more pronounced because of the country’s largely non-industrialised status, and native complicity in portraying a desirable female archetype to symbolise an idealised version of Irish country life. The colleen’s close connection with nature inevitably framed the way travel writers interpreted this gendered construct for readers, with many likening peasant girls to the deer or ‘mountain sylphs’ synonymous with the picturesque terrain they inhabited. In 1908 American tourist, Plummer F. Johnston, gave a generalised description of colleen physicality, opining that Irish girls provided the perfect ‘specimen of what a woman living close to nature may be.’ They were usually medium height with ‘well-formed’ figures and ‘steel grey’ eyes above red cheeks that visitors initially suspected were

artificial, but were in fact due a robust health in such a damp bracing climate.70 Similarly, B.E. Stevenson also observed the ruddy complexion of a chambermaid employed at his Connemara railway hotel, declaring her a prototype for ‘Sweet Peggy, or Kathleen Brown, or Kitty Neil, or any of the lovely Irish girls the Irish poets delighted to sing.’71 Sixty years before, Thomas Carlyle had noted the ‘gypsy beauty’ of female convicts being transported to jail near Blarney, whose ‘keen glancing black eyes’ defiantly returned his stare when their convoy trundled past him on the road from Cork.72 Likewise, his fellow Englishman, William Makepeace Thackeray, included several descriptions of peasant girls in his Irish travel book of 1842 that extolled both their beauty and virtue.73

During this decade the Famine significantly altered women’s position in rural society as the structure of the Irish-Catholic family changed and farming became centred on tillage.74 Previously, a wife’s earnings through proto-industrial and agricultural labour allowed most poor couples to survive independently.75 Increasingly, this was no longer possible without parental support, resulting in marriages that were explicitly unions of land and dowry. Primogeniture replaced subdivision as the preferred method of property inheritance limiting the options for younger siblings, who were now encouraged to emigrate to either Britain or the United States.76 The expense of dowries meant that only one daughter could expect to be a beneficiary, culminating in a slide towards female dominated emigration unknown to most other ethnic groups arriving in America.77 Historian Rita Rhodes maintains that emigration operated as a vehicle permitting ‘both the fulfilment of traditional familial values as well as the satisfaction of individual needs that could not be met within rural Ireland.’78 Emigration thus gave young women the

70 Jones, Shamrock land, pp 222-23.
71 Stevenson, The charm of Ireland, p. 315.
72 Carlyle, Reminisces, p. 124.
73 Thackeray, The Irish sketchbook, p. 128.
74 Bourke, Husbandry to housewifery, p. 1; Akenson, The Irish diaspora, p. 25.
75 J. J. Lee, ‘Women and the Church since the Famine’ in Margaret Mac Curtain and Donncha Ó Corráin (eds), Women in Irish society: The historical dimension (Naas 1979), p. 38.
76 Rita Rhodes, Women and the family in Post-Famine Ireland: status and opportunity in a patriarchal society, pp 100-256. (Hereafter: Rhodes, Women and the family).
77 Fourteenth general report of the colonial land and emigration commissioners, HC 1854 (1647), xl, p. 12. The 1910 Census of the United States reported that amongst the Irish born population there were 83 men per hundred women. See Timothy Guinnane, The vanishing Irish (New Jersey, 1997), p. 105.
78 Rhodes, Women and the Family, p. 271.
opportunity to achieve financial independence and the prospect of accumulating a dowry for marriage if they ever decided to return home to Ireland.

Between 1850 and 1881 the vast majority of female emigrants leaving the country originated from Ireland’s poorer western counties, were under twenty-four and unmarried. Most headed to the United States where the demand for domestic servants had grown substantially following the emergence of a middle class during the rapid industrialisation of the post bellum period. ‘Bridget’ or ‘Biddy’ became American slang term for domestic servant, whose appearance in contemporary cartoons were often as the target of jokes ridiculing them for their perceived haughtiness and unfamiliarity with social convention. Unlike their British counterparts, American artists like Frederick Opper (1857-1937) included contemporary Irish women in the simianising process, resulting in a proliferation of images where they displayed an apelike countenance. In general though, Irish women were depicted more favourably than Paddy, who was usually shown intoxicated and idle in the background while his unfortunate wife worked and cleaned. The popular association of the Irish with dirt, in part attributable to the shantytowns where they initially lived and the impoverished appearance of first generation immigrants, carried over to the figure of the Irish domestic servant in American households from the 1870s onwards. At the start of the decade Scribner’s Monthly published an article whose female author resolved never to employ another ‘Bridget’ after several bad experiences. ‘How can I endure to put another dirty Irish girl … into a nice room,’ she pondered, ‘with perhaps a host of attendant vermin lurking in her bags and bundles.’ In a later article the same periodical praised the efficiency of Chinese servants over Irish girls because of the latter’s perceived lack of intelligence: ‘in an hour the ‘Chinaboy’ will take in the situation of everything about the house, and will learn what it requires a week or two of drill to get through the head of an Irish girl.’

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79 *Emigration Statistics of Ireland for 1880 - 1881*, HC 1881 (2501) lxxvi, pp 1-10.
82 Murphy, ‘Bridget and Biddy’, pp 156-57
84 Ibid., Vol. 12, No. 5, (Sept. 1876), pp 736-37.
Not all contemporary periodicals took such a view. In 1853 *Eliza Cook’s Journal* revealed how female industrial schools in Ireland had created a culture of cleanliness amongst its pupils, improving their hygiene and tidiness to such a degree that very ‘likely we shall find the insulting words ‘No Irish need apply’ omitted in the advertisements for servants; for then Irish girls will be better trained, and therefore calculated to make better servants than even … [English] women.’ In Ireland this was an increasingly common view. The inspector of Dunmanway schools for example, noticed an improvement in the pupils there:

I recollect, at the opening of the schools, the little girls presented themselves in the middle of August, with their mothers’ cloaks and various other garments, thrown over their heads and round their necks; now you see them with smart bonnets, neat and cheap frocks made in the schools, light neck covering, tidily kept hair with nets made by themselves, the most scrupulous personal cleanliness, and all the amenities of higher rural life strongly developed among them.  

Two years earlier in 1851, Henry Mayhew, while walking in the back alleys of London’s Irish districts, noticed how the court yards were drying grounds for colourful clothes of every description, obscuring buildings and scenting the air with soap suds that filled the gutters with dirty grey water spilt from washtubs near open doors. Entering several, he was surprised by their neatness and fully stocked cupboards, and their coloured prints of saints on mantelpieces, conferring an air of comfort belying Ireland’s reputation for filthy cabins.

By the 1890s cartoons of Irish domestic servants became fewer as a regular feature of American satirical weeklies. A writer for the *Atlantic Monthly* suggested in 1896 that such women had excellent qualities, which earlier cartoonists deliberately overlooked to get a cheap laugh. Moreover, the article concluded that ‘a servant to whom a nation safely entrusts its household property and its children [was] not to be condemned.’ During the preceding decades Biddies had earned a good reputation for childminding and cleaning that confounded the earlier malign stereotype. For many young Irish women a period in service allowed them to acquire the social skills of urban

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America, which socially aspiring employers expected so that proper etiquette might be observed before guests. The fact that many servants lived with their employers created opportunities for them to save money and facilitate remittances to their family in Ireland. This financial independence also allowed them to become active consumers, whose purchasing power helped create an American standard of living, enabling them to better integrate into the general population. By 1900 only sixteen per cent of second-generation Irish-Americans worked in domestic service, suggesting that significant social gains had been made in the meantime, with such work essentially suiting the needs of earlier immigrant women.\textsuperscript{88}

The colleen thus replaced Biddy as the popularly accepted representation of Irish femininity; a reconfiguration actively promoted by the Ancient Order of Hibernians.\textsuperscript{89} In 1912 this organisation boycotted the American tour of \textit{The Playboy of the Western World}, objecting in particular to its portrayal of Irish female sexual behaviour.\textsuperscript{90} Seven years earlier at the Abbey theatre in Dublin, similar sentiments animated audience anger at the village girls’ open flirtation with Christy Mahon. This was in addition to one character’s scripted use of the word ‘shift’ in reference to a woman’s undergarment, leading one Belfast critic to label the female cast as ‘unnatural viragoes with the soul and tongues of strumpets.’\textsuperscript{91} J.M. Synge’s portrayal of peasant women’s sexuality had antagonised both the Gaelic League and Sinn Féin, just as it would the Ancient Order of Hibernians, all of which exalted Irishwomen as either perfect mothers, or else spiritual maidens.\textsuperscript{92} At the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair, Lady Aberdeen had similarly extolled the purity of her female employees and publicly congratulated them for maintaining their virtue ‘in the midst of great … temptation.’\textsuperscript{93} Later in 1902, \textit{Ireland’s Own} published an article entitled ‘The Ideal Girl’, in which its author set out to investigate what type of young Irish woman constituted the perfect wife. She was envisaged as resembling ‘the

\textsuperscript{88} Rhodes, \textit{Women and the Family}, p. 305.
\textsuperscript{89} Donavan, ‘Good Old Pat’, p. 13
\textsuperscript{91} Stephen Tift, ‘The parricidal phantasm: Irish nationalism and the Playboy Riots’ in Andrew Parker, Mary Russo and Doris Sommer (eds), \textit{Nationalisms and sexualities} (New York, 1992), p. 316.
\textsuperscript{92} Innes, \textit{Woman and nation}, p. 35.
\textsuperscript{93} \textit{Irish Times}, 4 June 1894.
quiet girl of long ago, possessing charms all of her own … an embodiment of gentleness, refinement and sympathy, whose presence made it at once apparent to everyone that she was a well bred girl, in a word, a lady – one of nature’s gentlewomen.’ She was also domesticated and thrifty, keeping her home neat and clean for her appreciative family.\textsuperscript{94}

A similar commentary from a 1908 edition of \textit{The Peasant} extolled homemaking as the highest form of nation-building, whose greatest practitioners were women of the ‘widest mental outlook … capable of seeing things in their proper perspective’ rather than being restricted ‘by the mending of clothes and the darning of socks.’ In this regard Irishwomen had failed ‘to create an inspiring distinctive home life, while the effects of the narrowing down of their interest to the close set limits of housekeeping [had] been disastrous to the nation.’ Irish children had subsequently grown up without a nourishing ‘spiritual force’ culminating in widespread apathy towards Irish independence.\textsuperscript{95} Another periodical suggested that this sustenance could be provided through the medium of Gaelic, which if spoken domestically would inevitably stimulate a mass movement for political change. Mothers would only achieve this by teaching children their prayers ‘at the hearthside’ instead of mounting public platforms and acting like ‘shrieking viragoes.’ The maternal mission was therefore to make ‘the homes of Ireland Irish’, which in turn would precipitate in the emergence of a national consciousness, hostile to British rule.\textsuperscript{96} Rural reformer, Sir Horace Plunkett, also believed that correct motherhood was crucial to creating an ideal Ireland. However, as a committed unionist he believed self-sufficient loyalists would result from this nurturing rather than a nationalist population poised for independence. Good housekeeping was crucial to this process and Plunkett published the \textit{Irish Homestead} to propagate his views.\textsuperscript{97} One American tourist visiting Ireland in 1908 considered rural women deficient in this respect, because of their perceived preference for gossiping at market instead of maintaining domestic order. Although generally

\textsuperscript{94} \textit{Ireland’s Own}, 26 Nov. 1902.
\textsuperscript{95} \textit{The Peasant}, 18 July 1908.
\textsuperscript{96} Mary E. Butler, ‘Irishwomen and the home language’ in \textit{All Ireland Review}, Vol. 1, No. 50 (Dec 15, 1900), p. 24
neglectful of their duties, Irishwomen, when pushed, were good workers, unlike their men who were usually occupied at the public-house to be of much use.  

A year earlier, Lady Aberdeen had established the Women’s National Health Association, which aimed to educate Irishwomen on how cleanliness prevented tuberculosis. This affliction was responsible for more deaths in Ireland than any other malady, establishing it as the United Kingdom’s most affected region. The Association held public lectures in urban areas on improved methods of housework and childcare that emphasised the need for a diverse diet coupled with sanitary domestic conditions. Caravans were later used to deliver this message with, it was believed, good effect: ‘If you revisit some village in the wilds of Donegal … that you knew a few years ago, you would probably notice changes. Houses and cabins are cleaner and better kept, windows are made to open; the manure heap is less evident to eyes and nose. If you comment on these changes you will probably learn that the health caravan has passed that way.’ The Irish Tourist Association objected to the widespread press coverage of these itinerant exhibitions, claiming that visitor numbers to Ireland would inevitably drop at a time when its tourist industry was recovering from a two-decade slump.

In 1902 the Tyrone soap manufacturer, Robert Brown, had given a paper on tuberculosis at a meeting of the British Association, citing good ventilation and diet as a prevention against the disease, and recommended oatmeal porridge as a nutritious means of building a healthy constitution. Five years later Lady Aberdeen invited him to give an updated version of the same paper at her tuberculosis conference running as part of the Dublin International Exhibition. Brown was Ulster secretary for the Irish Tuberculosis Fund and attended numerous lectures, including one on the humid conditions in northern linen factories, where female employees were particularly vulnerable to infection. His company had also built a model cottage at the Exhibition to sell McClinton’s soap to the public. In his diary he described it as a ‘capital’ but expensive advertisement that successfully turned a profit of £925 and irritated John Barrington, whose own firm was

98 Jones, Shamrock land, pp 236-37.
99 The Times, 4 July 1908.
100 Bourke, Husbandry to housewifery, p. 238.
101 Ibid., p. 255.
102 Irish Times, 18 Oct. 1902.
103 The Tyrone Courier, 14 May 1908.
104 Sunday Independent, 20 Oct. 1907; Irish Independent, 1 Aug. 1908.
still in a downturn following its damaging association with Lever’s failed cartel.\footnote{105} Capitalising on this, Brown inserted a promotional photograph of the cottage into a book published to coincide with the Exhibition that offered pre-paid McClinton’s soap samples to any postal address in the United Kingdom.\footnote{106} The large volume of resulting orders prompted a reformulation of company strategy aimed at securing a portion of the lucrative British market. McClinton’s ‘Colleen’ range of toiletries would provide the impetus to this expansion that first required the creation of a distinctive brand personality to compete with the menagerie of other motifs prevalent on Edwardian corporate packaging. Prior company advertisements had spurned graphics, relying instead on stark text to advertise McClinton’s products.\footnote{107} This contrasted with Lever’s Sunlight soap, which since 1900 had regularly used reoccurring images of healthy curved women hanging washed clothes to emphasise its value to the household economy.\footnote{108}

Though these illustrations were not intended to titillate, they did manage to upset some who viewed them as threatening to Irish morality. For example, in 1904 the \textit{Irish Times} reported that a Limerick curate had publicly objected to one such advertisement in the back of a primary school English book, demanding that all local booksellers remove the image before selling it to unsuspecting parents and children. This edict drew derision from one letter-writer who questioned whether undergraduates in the proposed Catholic university for Ireland would be ‘subjected to the same sterilising process of paste pot and brown paper.’\footnote{109} Clerical policing of images also extended to postcards and their contrived scenes of colonial life and indigenous people. In 1910 a priest in King’s County told his congregation how his visit to a local house had unearthed a collection of indecent postcards in the owner’s possession. The offensive material had shocked him and was ‘a disgrace to civil and religious life and Catholicity’ because it revealed a low standard of morality amongst those who encouraged such degrading traffic.\footnote{110} This coincided with a general government clamp down on purportedly indecent postcards orchestrated by the Postmaster General, who announced that anyone caught sending letters of an odious

\footnote{105} Diary of Robert Brown, Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone, 1896-1914 (P.R.O.N.I. MIC 604/1).
\footnote{107} See the \textit{Irish Independent}, 16 Nov. 1907.
\footnote{108} \textit{Belfast Newsletter}, 21 Apr. 1908.
\footnote{109} \textit{Irish Times}, 16 Sept. 1904.
\footnote{110} Ibid., 19 Jul. 1910
character would be fined or else imprisoned for twelve months depending on the lewdness of the apprehended article. Furthermore, a committee was established to review the 1889 indecent advertisement act, which recommended that new legislation be introduced to ‘provide a uniform method of procedure in the prosecution of all such offences.’\textsuperscript{111} The wide circulation of French colonial postcards was of particular concern because some showed unveiled Algerian women in various states of undress subject to the scrutiny of an intensified imperial gaze.\textsuperscript{112} As Patricia Goldworthy has argued such images did not present an objective view of reality, but instead created a predetermined meaning through specific framing techniques and selective captions that diffused colonial ideology on a scale hitherto unknown before the 1890s.\textsuperscript{113}

**BALLYMACLINTON**

In 1900 William Lever invited several Irish businessmen to his model village at Port Sunlight as part of a promotional tour to view the manufacture of his products. Amongst this group was a Cork entrepreneur who noted in the *Southern Star* how employees and their families were well treated and housed in light, airy, comfortable buildings. The village also had a school, a clubroom, a large dining hall and sports ground that gave residents ‘ample opportunities for physical development and intellectual culture.’ At the soap works visitors were able to view the industrial process. ‘Here we were struck with the advantages of organised labour’, wrote the businessman, ‘everything was done at the minimum expenditure … although the firm employs more than 4,000 men and women. I fancied I saw the great secret of England’s prosperity.’ Afterwards Lever delivered a speech thanking his guests for visiting, wishing them all a safe trip back to Ireland. The Cork entrepreneur however, dreaded the journey because it would return him from the high productivity of ‘a great English factory to the … depressing lethargy’ of a somnambulant Irish town.\textsuperscript{114}

\textsuperscript{111} *The Times*, 13 Dec. 1904; *Irish Times*, 16 Sept. 1908; *Hansard* 5 (Commons) x, cc1632-3W. (09 September 1909).
\textsuperscript{112} Sigel, ‘Filth in the wrong people’s hands’, p. 867.
\textsuperscript{114} *Southern Star*, 1 Dec. 1900.
Port Sunlight’s efficiency inspired other late Victorian entrepreneurs to build similar factory villages. George Cadbury’s chocolate producing garden city at Bournville, would later provide the basis for the proposed tourist resort in the play *John Bull’s Other Island*.\(^{115}\) In Ireland, Robert Brown had also built modern cottages for his employees near his factory at Donaghmore, as well as providing them with recreation clubs and paid summer train tips to the seaside at Warrenpoint.\(^{116}\) He occasionally advised the Dungannon town board on improvements to local housing, publishing his recommendations in a book accompanying the 1907 Dublin International Exhibition. The success of his cottage there influenced his decision to erect a complete Irish village as a spectacular form of promotion at the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition in London. Before this was possible he first needed the Irish chief secretary’s permission, approaching Lady Aberdeen with the proposal that all profits raised be donated to her anti-tuberculosis fund. She happily agreed and as well as negotiating approval for the project she procured a £2,000 donation from the Department of Agriculture to start construction on what would eventually became known as ‘Ballymaclinton’.\(^{117}\)

This was not McClinton’s first involvement with a London exhibition. In 1888 the firm had donated a pyramid of soap tablets to the Irish Exhibition that had boosted sales. Robert Brown envisaged that his firm’s latest venture would generate an even larger profit and establish Colleen soap in the volatile British market. The Franco-British Exhibition also presented McClinton’s with the opportunity to sell to French customers, many of whom were expected to visit London during the fair. This event celebrated the signing of the *entente cordiale* between Britain and France in 1904 that concluded a series of colonial agreements mutually recognising each other’s spheres of influence. Since the end of the Napoleonic wars, Britain’s European policy of ‘splendid isolation’ had freed it from continental entanglements and allowed it to fully concentrate on overseas expansion. By the 1880s, the growing ambitions of other European nations forced it to rethink this policy, a reassessment made all the more pertinent in light of its

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\(^{115}\) Wilson, *The history of Unilever*, p. 144.
\(^{116}\) *Weekly Irish Times*, 23 Aug. 1913.
\(^{117}\) Diary of Robert Brown, Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone, 1896-1914, (P.R.O.N.I. MIC 604/1).
poor performance in the recently fought South African war (1899-1902). This culminated in a consolidation of empire and a search for foreign allies such as France, whose coalition with Britain was based on a shared anxiety at German adventuring in Morocco.\footnote{118 Samuel R. Williamson, *The politics of grand strategy: Britain and France prepare for war*, (London 1990), pp 1-2. (Hereafter: Williamson, *The politics of grand strategy*).}

The Exhibition itself became the largest of its kind ever mounted in London. It covered 140 acres that included an artificial lake and an immense network of white buildings in various elaborate styles. Ballymaclinton was located on a ten-acre site next to a selection of colonial exhibits in the entertainment section of the fair. Belfast architect William J. Fennel produced a design that cost £25,000 to realise. It consisted of several thatched cottages, a mini soap factory, a laundry, a village hall, a sanatorium and a fully functioning post office. A replica of the late President McKinley’s ancestral home at Conagher, Co. Antrim, contained the same staircase, doors and dressers Clifton Johnson saw on his visit in 1900.\footnote{119 Powell, *The Edwardian crisis*, p. 10; Williamson, *The politics of grand strategy*, pp 7-8.}

Ballymaclinton was embellished by a hundred foot high round tower, a Celtic cross and an art gallery that showed paintings of bathing and pastoral scenes, each emphasising the healthy lifestyle associated with McClinton’s toiletries.\footnote{120 *Tyrone Courier*, 14 May 1908; Ibid., 3 Sept. 1908; *New York Times*, 24 May 1908; *Franco-British Exhibition London (Shepherd’s Bush) 1908: official guide*, (London, 1908), p. 53.}

Central to the effective functioning of the village were the 200 young women hired as colleens to work there.\footnote{121 The *Tyrone Courier*, 2 July 1908; *The Daily Mail*, 18 Apr. 1908; *Irish Independent*, 18 Apr. 1908.} They constituted a welcoming group, at once compliant and industrious. Wearing distinctive scarlet cloaks, they demonstrated handicrafts, made soap, and served customers in the village restaurant. According to Irish newspapers they were mainly Catholic and had answered advertisements calling on girls of ‘good social position’ to apply for the scheme, a criterion indicative of a likely petit-bourgeois background rather than the female peasants they purported to be. Applicants were also required to submit photographs so that management could judge if applicants had a healthy look that could be attributable to the rejuvenating properties of Colleen soap. Good looks and an Irish accent were also stipulated.\footnote{122 *Irish Independent*, 9 May 1908.} In effect, these girls were a

\begin{footnotes}
122 *Irish Independent*, 9 May 1908.
123 The *Tyrone Courier*, 14 May 1908.
\end{footnotes}
reification of the brand, whose overall look was similar to John Carey’s attractive colleen archetype then circulating on contemporary Irish postcards (Fig. 5.2). Parents were assured that the girls would be more than adequately accommodated and would work just eight hours daily with the prospect of a bonus included at the end of their contract. A matron and resident doctor would oversee their needs. Clergy of all denominations would sustain their spiritual welfare with Sunday services at the village hall.  

In June 1908 McClinton’s sent a letter to the Belfast Newsletter seeking both Catholic and Protestant ministers to act as chaplains in the village for fortnightly periods. Free room and board was provided along with a pass to everything in the exhibition. Robert Brown intended to emphasise the multi-denominational composition of his workforce and invited the press to attend his village Sunday services. His firm did not have a sectarian employment policy and had always hired a large number of Catholics at its Donaghmore factory. An article reprinted from a London newspaper by the Irish press noted that a communal dinner was held every Sunday for both groups as a means of fostering understanding: ‘Spread amid the quiet peacefulness of the Irish Village, Protestant and Roman Catholic, stern Orangeman and laughing colleen [are] united in appreciation of the fruit and nut butter.’ Another periodical described the colleens’ scarlet cloaks as filling the hall with colour before mass, giving them a picturesque appearance more national than the modern clothes of most Irish congregations.  

Brown also invited the press to attend entertainments on the village green, where traditional musicians accompanied by dancing colleens performed for the crowd, much like their predecessors had done at Chicago fifteen years before. Brown aimed to generate the maximum amount of publicity for his enterprise and he capitalised on a visit by King Edward and French President Fallieres in May, having it widely reported how the colleens had delighted them both with their costumes and bouquets of flowers. He

124 Ibid.
125 Belfast Newsletter, 6 June 1908.
126 The Tyrone Courier, 2 July 1908.
127 The Census of Ireland 1911 confirms that a large number of McClinton’s employees living in and around Donaghmore were Roman Catholic.
129 The Tyrone Courier, 27 Aug. 1908.
130 Ibid., 3 Sept. 1908.
131 The Northern Whig, 27 May 1908; 1896-1914; Diary of Robert Brown, Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone, 1896-1914, (P.R.O.N.I. MIC 604/1).
re Celtic without a taint of urban affectation.132 Another press report recounted how some of the villagers suffered culture shock when they arrived en masse in London, panicking at its chaos of ‘motorcars…carriages and taxis’ after emerging from a tube station they mistook for a royal palace because of its white wall tiles.133 Such stories, encouraged by Brown, reinforced an image of Ballymaclinton and its inhabitants as an oasis of native innocence and purity in the midst of the imperial capital.

The organisers of the Franco-British Exhibition appointed picture postcard manufacturers, James Valentine & Sons, Dundee, as the event’s official photographers. Valentine entered into a business agreement with Brown that allowed him to use its images on soapboxes and all future promotional material. Valentine retained all profits on the postcards, whose large sales gave the Colleen brand an unprecedented amount of free advertising. A total of 3.8 million picture postcards, many featuring the colleens themselves, were sent from Ballymaclinton’s post office, creating – at a stroke – a global dispersal of objectified Irish femininity.134 Both the Irish Times and Irish Independent reproduced these postcards in their reports on the exhibition: they were among the first photographs published in either paper. Captions like ‘Young and beautiful Ireland’ explicitly linked the colleens with the figure of Erin, directing the way readers consumed such images.135 In Ireland, ongoing competition between Valentine and William Lawrence for dominance of the postcard market had squeezed out many smaller competitors, with the former successfully launching the first ‘Irish views’ series ahead of its main rival.136 In 1905 Valentine opened a Dublin office to cope with growing demand, printing illustrated postcards that, like John Carey’s, often featured colleens in picturesque landscapes. The firm also manufactured photographic images that showed Ireland as an emerging modern country of motorcars, buses, ships and factories.137 These contrasting depictions – anachronistic and modern – existed coevally, with the former

132 The Peasant, 30 May 1908.
133 The Morning Leader as quoted in The Peasant, 30 May 1908.
134 Irish Independent, 19 Oct. 1908.
135 Ibid., 15 May 1908; Ibid., 3 June 1908; Weekly Irish Times, 27 June 1908.
137 See Valentine collection, National Photographic Archive of Ireland, VR8553-64.
proving more popular with tourists only too willing to purchase and re-circulate the same imagery that had drawn them to Ireland in the first place.

In one company postcard issued in 1908 as part of its Ballymaclinton series, a group of colleens have removed their cloaks and dance beside their cottage’s vegetable garden, (Fig. 5.3). Somewhat distant at the entrance to the village, two men stand observing them overlooked by the towers of the Australian pavilion. This photographed performance was repeated daily on the village green for thousands of visitors carrying guidebooks that described it as a relic of Ireland’s quaint culture.\textsuperscript{138} Absent from most of these postcards are the men employed by McClinton’s or by other Ulster firms also exhibiting goods at the village – mainly linen manufacturers that included William Liddell & Co. of Belfast, which displayed damasks and hand-embroidered bedspreads in a case surmounted by a golden harp.\textsuperscript{139}

Robert Brown also employed a Sean-Bhean-Bhocht-like figure called Old Norah from Valentia Island, Co. Kerry, who was housed in McKinley’s cottage to keep the turf fire ablaze for visitors.\textsuperscript{140} Her curmudgeonly personality marked her as distinctive in an otherwise pleasing, if bland, cast of colleens, the more credulous of whom regarded her as ‘a witch.’\textsuperscript{141} It is unclear how Robert Brown came to employ her, or whether she was deliberately intended to represent the ‘poor old woman’ of Irish poetry. Norah’s independent demeanour made her a favourite with the press, which noted her aversion to being photographed: ‘Norah’s character is as strongly marked as her features and she imperiously puts to flight the impertinent photographer.’ A recurring tale from the untamed edges of empire was repeated: ‘In the wilds of Ireland the peasantry have a superstitious dread of the camera. They think that ill luck would fall on them if a stranger were to carry away their image.’\textsuperscript{142} Although this may have been true in some instances, Plummer F. Johnson’s earlier encounter with the little girl in Connemara shows that this was not always the case, suggesting a native shrewdness towards tourists that empowered them during encounters.

\textsuperscript{138} \textit{The Tyrone Courier}, 23 July 1908.
\textsuperscript{139} \textit{Irish Independent}, 9 May 1908; \textit{Belfast Newsletter}, 6 June 1908.
\textsuperscript{140} \textit{Irish Independent}, 25 May 1908. Evidence from the 1911 census confirms that a woman named Nora Sullivan lived on Valentia Island at the time. She was recorded as being 72 years old, bilingual, illiterate and widowed. Her son, Michael Connell, was also recorded as living with her. See \textit{Census of Ireland, 1911}.
\textsuperscript{141} \textit{The Tyrone Courier}, 23 July 1908.
\textsuperscript{142} Ibid., 3 Sept. 1908.
For Ballymaclinton’s female employees this occurred through a visual process known as the ‘look’. Photographic historian Anne Maxwell differentiates this from the ‘gaze’ in that the latter denotes a one-way subjective vision, whereas the ‘look’ connotes a relation. In a colonial context the look is empowering to the native because it awards them subjectivity while simultaneously interrogating the coloniser. Sixty years earlier, Thomas Carlyle experienced this from the female convicts he saw near Blarney, who brazenly returned his quizzical stare, inverting it to make him feel uncomfortable. During their time at the exhibition some of the colleens adopted this act of resistance to oppose the voyeuristic intrusion of a deepened male gaze directed at their bodies. In May 1908 the Cork Examiner reported one such incident when a group of Englishmen decided to taunt Old Norah in McKinley’s Cottage:

‘Arrah’ said the old woman, ‘There is no Englishman with the nice blue eyes of the Irish boys – what do you say girls?’ and an approving chorus of assent came from the other pretty girls in the room. ‘Arrah, it takes four Englishmen to make an Irishman.’ ‘Forty,’ cried the chorus. ‘Forty thousand ye mane’ cried the old woman, and the rafters rang with … approval while the Englishmen present wilted visibly before the scorn that flashed from … Irish eyes.

Other reported exchanges between difficult visitors and colleens describe how their acerbic replies to patronising questions further enabled a negotiation of power relations between the exhibited and voyeur. The Tyrone Courier detailed how one patron annoyed a colleen with his less than laudatory opinion of the village and after inquiring on the whereabouts of the pigs was told: ‘We have not been able to secure any yet. Could you stay?’

Inevitably the sty at Ballymaclinton was a sensitive issue in the nationalist press because of the popular association of pigs with the filthy living conditions of poor Irish peasants that many nineteenth-century travellers had described. One newspaper noted approvingly how the swine were isolated and ‘kept within [their] proper sphere by a commodious fence’ and not amongst the employees, contrary to the perception some

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144 Cork Examiner, 27 May 1908.
145 The Tyrone Courier, 30 July 1908.
English people still had of the Irish.146 Improved living conditions in rural Ireland had reduced a family’s reliance on pigs as an alternative source of income during periodic bad harvests. Nationalist writers like Robert Lynd carefully distanced the modern peasantry from their forbearers by emphasising the reduced role of the pig in the domestic economy, stating that many thought the household swine ‘an English music-hall joke, for they have never seen such a thing.’ If such a practice still existed then it was only in the poorest of homes, in the most unsheltered of places, but not at the cost of hygiene: ‘in those shrill nights and days the pig is admitted to the comfort of the hearth, it by no means follows that the house is turned into a pig-sty.’147 Similarly, the sty at Ballymaclinton was described as being a ‘pattern of cleanliness and neatness.’148 One Valentine postcard of it (Fig. 5.4) shows three colleens feeding a pig in the company of one of the village’s few male employees. A sign on the wall above them assures patrons that McClinton’s soaps are made from plant ash and vegetable oil, containing no animal fat damaging to the skin. It also states pigs are carriers of tuberculosis bacteria, with both Jews and Muslims prohibited under religious law from consuming pork.

Noticeable too in the image are the colleen’s scarlet cloaks. By 1908 rural Irish women no longer wore this garment, opting instead for the cheaper shawl because of its ability to retain heat while remaining light against the wearer’s body. Resembling a rug, the séal mór (large shawl) was the clearest example of a change in traditional peasant clothing following the increased availability of new fashions in provincial Irish shops. The hooded cloak derived from the Gaelic Irish habit of wearing woollen mantles in previous centuries, which many Elizabethan commentators had disapproved of for concealing dirty clothes and illegitimate pregnancies.149 The fact that such garments were worn as both a day cover and night blanket also increased their associations with dirt in early English travel writing, especially since their unwashed fabric was reportedly an ample source of infection for owners. In later years the cloak’s vivid red colour resulted from the prevalence of madder as a dye in the west of Ireland, where superstition held it

146 Irish Independent, 18 Apr. 1908.
147 Lynd, Home life in Ireland, p. 24.
148 The Tyrone Courier, 3 Sept. 1908.
149 Suranyi, The genius of the English nation, p. 125; Ann R. Jones and Peter Stallybrass, ‘Dismantling Irena’ in Andrew Parker, Mary Russo and Doris Sommer (eds) Nationalisms and sexualities, p. 166.

Edmund Spencer described unmarried pregnant Gaelic Irishwomen thus: ‘after her lewd exercise, when she hath filled her vessel, under it she can hide both her burden and her blame.’
to be a lucky repellent against malevolent fairies.\footnote{Dunlevy, \textit{Dress in Ireland}, p. 168; Brid Mahon, \textit{Rich and rare; the story of Irish dress} (Cork, 2000) p. 32.} McClinton’s decision to dress its employees in a garment with historical connotations that ran counter to the ethos of the village might have seemed counterproductive. However, it is doubtful that the majority of visitors in London would have known anything of that historical discourse and were reported to have reacted positively to the colleen’s cloaks. One Irish critic though, decried their ‘inauthentic’ costumes, saying how future visitors to Ireland would be disappointed to find that real village girls actually dressed in the latest fashions from London and Paris, rather than the colleen’s fanciful outfits.\footnote{The \textit{Tyrone Courier}, 3 Sept. 1908.}

Lady Aberdeen’s opening of Ballymaclinton’s sanatorium in July coincided with parliament’s passing of the tuberculosis prevention bill, granting Irish county councils new powers for containing the disease.\footnote{Tuberculosis prevention (Ireland). \textit{A bill [as amended by Standing Committee A] to prevent the spread and provide for the treatment of tuberculosis; and for other purposes connected therewith}, HC 1908, (366), v, 737.} Aberdeen noted how consumption was a constant drain on the Irish population, which recent legislation would soon redress through the construction of sanatoria.\footnote{\textit{Freeman’s Journal}, 16 July 1908; \textit{Irish Independent}, 16 July 1908.} A tuberculosis exhibition was held daily in the village hall where lanternslides explaining its causes and spread were shown to visitors. Specimens of human lungs and intestine at various stages of the disease were also displayed, along with sputum flasks, milk sterilizers and diagrams of the tuberculosis death rate in Ireland. A replica of two contrasting bedrooms was also shown: one clean, bright and well ventilated, the other dark, dusty and stuffy, an ideal site for the pathogen’s incubation.\footnote{The \textit{Tyrone Courier}, 23 July 1908.} At a demonstration in the adjacent sanatorium and under the auspice of a London hospital, Robert Brown regularly presented consumptive patients to audiences horrified with the physical effects of their sickness.\footnote{Ibid., 1 Oct. 1908,}

Contrasting with this macabre display were images of rejuvenation contained within the nearby village art gallery. Curator, Hugh Lane was well known in London circles as a successful art dealer. His selection of paintings showed scenes of bathing and
domesticity alongside portraits of peeresses and society debutants. William Orpen, contributed *The Washhouse* (1905), which depicted a girl in an apron leaning over a tub, poised to scrub some clothes clean with a bar of soap. The term ‘wash house’ designated the laundering room of a professional establishment, usually located in the basement, whose upper rooms were left free for drying and ironing. The early 1900s had seen an expansion of the laundry trade as the British working class increasingly availed of such services. Lane’s prominent use of aristocratic portraits was a successful attempt to establish the appeal of Colleen soap, through an emphasis on specific upper-class notions of beauty. In his celebrated aesthetic discourse on the sublime and the beautiful, Edmund Burke defined a beautiful woman as having ‘classical’ or ‘regular’ features that displayed her virtuous character without the need of cosmetics. This was in contrast to the ‘curled and painted’ prostitute who used artifice to hide any symptom of illness disfiguring her face. Thanks to its natural ingredients – plant ash and vegetable oils – Colleen soap promised to accentuate feminine splendour, claiming to be the only cosmetic ‘necessary for the preservation of a youthful, delicate complexion.’ The colleens outside the gallery supposedly reflected this dermatological perfection and were consistently reported in British newspapers as having remarkable skin tone. Their elevated status as exemplars of Irish femininity however, belied the harsh reality for many contemporary Irish women, especially working women who found themselves living in the country’s impoverished urban tenements. In 1906 an investigative journalist for the *Irish Times* reported how some female tenants were so dirty that it seemed most ‘had not been washed since they were babies, if ever they were then.’ The only time any washing appeared to be done in these buildings was when the landlord ordered the women to clean them: ‘It is marvellous to think that the misshapen, half rotten, and worm-eaten stairs and landings in those houses … [were] freshly scrubbed … by the hands of the same women that would not wash their own faces nor half button their

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156 Hugh Lane was widely commended in various newspapers and periodicals for his selection of paintings. See the *Irish Times*, 1 July 1908; *The Northern Whig*, 27 May 1908; and *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 13, No. 64 (July, 1908) pp 192-205.
158 Huneault, *Difficult subjects*, p. 122.
blouses. In contrast, the colleens were marketed as the antithesis of such unseemliness and were reported as wearing Irish linen mesh underwear to guarantee their comfort and hygiene during the summer months of the exhibition. This policing of female sanitation also encompassed regular morning bathing rituals at a toilet building, where later in the day visitors would be invited to sample Colleen soap for themselves.

Like the paintings in its art gallery, Ballymaclinton and its employees were interpreted artistically in the press, which consistently used the term ‘picturesque’ to describe the village. The London Evening News said it looked like it had been taken complete from the ‘Emerald Isle’ and dropped beneath the soil of the Exhibition before being ‘conjured out of the mud by the fairy dwellers of an Irish glen.’ Lying peacefully under the starlit sky it made a ‘charming rural picture’. Another writer described them as more picturesque than a Connemara landscape. One journalist even likened old Norah to the elderly women with ‘furrowed features Rembrandt and Holbein delighted to paint’, as she danced for visitors with a step as light as a ‘wild goat’.

Such views contrasted with those of some Irish nationalist newspapers. The Southern Star was incensed with what it considered the Exhibition’s recurring slanders on Ireland:

The area of paganism in Europe has been recalled by the so-called “Irish” village at the Franco-British Exhibition. In pagan Rome specimens of conquered races were exhibited in the Auditorium to a populace eager for new sensations. Today the Irish race is put on the same status at the London exhibition as the Somalis, the Ashautees or the Hottentots. It is, in a word, “made a show of.”

The newspaper called on London’s patriotic Irish societies to boycott Ballymaclinton. It also urged them to send critical letters to other Irish newspapers, informing their readers how Irish people were being racially compared with subdued African tribes, rather than being shown separately as white citizens of the United Kingdom. The humiliation daily inflicted at Ballymaclintion was a spur to the nationalist cause: ‘Perhaps, after all, this reminder that we are a subject race may not be without good results if it should stimulate...
us to renewed effort towards regaining our freedom."166 A letter to the Irish Times voiced similar concerns, complaining about use of the word ‘village’ given Ballymaclinton’s close proximity to tropical colonial exhibits. It suggested ‘a collection of aborigines from the interior of Africa’ that would automatically compel visitors to associate Ireland with the imperial frontier. The fact that Ballymaclinton depicted a non-industrialised version of the country would only serve to intensify this perception, which had already become embedded in popular visual culture, thanks to images of thatched cottages and ‘bare-footed colleens’ circulating on picture postcards. According to the reporter Ballymaclinton did nothing to dispel such damaging notions and would ultimately reinforce them amongst an ignorant British public.167

Another critic of the village was Frederick Crossley in his capacity as spokesman for the Irish Tourist Association, who objected to the lectures on tuberculosis in the village hall. He argued that these talks created the false impression that Ireland was rampant with the disease and would inevitably lead to a reduction in the numbers visiting the island annually. Crossley also ridiculed the colleens and their costumes, calling them inauthentic, advocating instead an image that highlighted its true picturesque landscape rather than an allegorical representation. Such criticism particularly stung Robert Brown whose dispatch to The Freeman’s Journal angrily defended his firm’s display:

Sir … It is not an easy task to build and run an Irish Village, and there are no more critical people than our own countrymen. A few have complained that it was untidy and shabby, others that no one ever saw an Irish village decorated with flower gardens and kept so trim; some say it is theatrical and loud; others that it is uninteresting and dull. Does that not show we have hit the happy mean? Ballymaclinton represents an Irish village as it would be if all its inhabitants were pledged total abstainers, as ours are. Some people complain that many Irish industries are omitted. To this we reply that we never intended to include all. It is, as far as we could make it, a representation of Irish village industries. Our firm (a small one compared with some of the big English soap makers) is risking at least £40,000 and all we can hope from it is an advertisement.168

While some commentators correctly criticised the positioning of Ireland as a backward nation on the periphery of empire, they nonetheless ignored the fact that the country’s idealised depiction showed its contented place within the Union, which

166 Southern Star, 5 Sept. 1908.
167 Weekly Irish Times, 4 July 1908.
reflected Robert and David Brown’s own personal views. Their father, James Brown, a Liberal Unionist, had attended the 1892 Ulster Unionist Convention as a delegate for the Castlecaulfield district electoral division. Both brothers were equally dogmatic in their adherence to this brand of loyalism while also subscribing to Sir Horace Plunkett’s vision of a regenerated Irish civilization resulting from rural co-operatives and agricultural education. In the early 1880s, support for the Liberal party had been strongest among Ulster Presbyterian farmers and entrepreneurs. The leaders of Irish loyalism came from the landed elite, who comprised half of the group of eighteen MPs that coalesced into an Irish Loyalist parliamentary party in January 1886. Over the next decade, the Ulster Liberal Unionist Association (ULUA) acted as counter-weight to this block, convincing the unionist masses of the pressing need for agrarian and democratic reform. The ULUA, however, did not seek to entirely usurp the gentry’s leadership, preferring instead a compromise that would hasten their reformist agenda. Led by former McClinton’s employee, TW Russell MP, this faction advocated radical land alteration as the only practical way to prevent Protestant farmers from acceding to nationalism’s promise that compulsive purchase would follow Home Rule. In 1896 Russell persuaded the conservative government to introduce a land bill to placate disaffected farmers, antagonising many senior unionists in the process. When Russell launched a second wave of agitation to coincide with the 1900 general election, the leadership responded to this more radical campaign by calling for a closer alliance between landlords and proletariat. The devolution crisis of 1905 supplied the opportunity for a younger leadership to emerge that reflected the professional and commercial interests now funding unionism in the northeast of Ireland. The Brown brothers were influential members of this new caste, and were unwilling to countenance Ireland’s potential for partition.

172 Burnett, ‘The modernisation of unionism etc’, p. 45.
173 Fleming, ‘The landed elite etc’, p. 9; Burnett, ‘The modernisation of unionism etc’, p. 46.
174 Burnett, ‘The modernisation of unionism etc’, p. 55; Miller, *Queen’s rebels*, p. 93. The public revelation that Chief Secretary Wyndham’s staff were planning to devolve self-government to Ireland caused outrage among Irish unionists, who successfully lobbied for his immediate removal.
isolation from British imperial markets at a time when their own company was undergoing international expansion.

For many contemporary unionists, the empire was increasingly seen as the key to Britain’s survival as a great power. The South African War of 1899-1902, had highlighted the dangers of international isolation and imperial overstretch. No foreign powers had intervened actively on the Boer side, but Kaiser Wilhelm’s Germany had briefly threatened to mobilise an anti-British bloc of ‘armed neutrality’. The expansion of Germany’s navy had also alarmed many in Britain, who viewed it as a direct challenge to the country’s naval dominance and commercial strength. Consequently a more defensive form of British nationalism emerged in the 1900s, with many of its proponents endorsing Ulster unionism as a local expression of its overall agenda aimed at formalising cooperation between Britain and its dominions in the event of a future conflict.\textsuperscript{175} The prospect of Home Rule for Ireland was thus seen as dangerous within this context, especially since the vast majority of Irish people had openly supported the Boer Republics against Britain, despite the fact that Irish regiments had served with distinction at the front.\textsuperscript{176} Writing in 1901 while the conflict was still on-going, TW Russell conjectured on two possible outcomes arising in its aftermath: the first envisaged the Boers assimilating peacefully as British citizens and becoming avid imperialists; the second and more pessimistic prediction forecast the creation of another rebellious Ireland in the southern hemisphere; one with external allies whose military intervention would tax the empire to its limits. The strain of the current war on Britain’s resources had already ‘denuded the country of fighting men’, exposing it to invasion and encouraging rivals to regard the empire as in decline. Russell viewed Home Rule as the first step in this collapse, believing that an Irish parliament would hamper Britain in ‘the midst of a war against a foreign power’. This startling prospect, he argued, could only be avoided if the land question in Ireland was definitively resolved thereby pacifying the country and inducing disgruntled Catholic and Protestant tenant farmers to remain loyal to the government.\textsuperscript{177} Once this happened ‘Ireland [would] have real freedom, England [would]
be released from the grip of a nightmare, and the Empire [would] be really united.\textsuperscript{178} Russell saw land reform in Ireland as integral to maintaining Britain’s global hegemony, permitting him to fit his Liberal Unionist beliefs comfortably into an overarching imperialist mind-set. The Brown brothers found similar accommodation for their political convictions, although it is probable that mercantilism played a larger part in their motivation than outright concern for waning imperial authority. However, their promotion of an idealised pre-industrialised Ireland corresponded to a new English national identity centred on the English landscape as a repository for traditional values, with the rural village at its centre.\textsuperscript{179}

This has prompted Annie Coombes to argue that projects like Ballymaclinton were indispensable to the objective of British unity because they solidified the ‘illusion of a homogenous national identity.’ Its closeness to various African villages emphasised the key differences between European and colonised subjects, which the exhibition guidebooks reiterated as evidence of racial superiority.\textsuperscript{180} In this way Irishness was shown to be an integral part of British identity, which in turn implied social evolution and its distancing from the simian subjects of earlier Victorian caricature. The fact that a soap firm owned Ballymaclinton was also significant in this respect, because it inferred a sanitising of Irish identity – its Catholic component in particular, which was now cleansed of its filthy associations and cast as crucial to a loyal and contented utopia. \textit{The Times} advised Englishwomen to note how the neat interiors of each cottage displayed an admirable domesticity that linked their Celtic sisters directly to them. The link was also visible in the traditional architecture of Ballymaclinton and England’s replica Tudor house: both had a ‘more distinctive effect’ than the large imposing structures that represented Canada and Australia.\textsuperscript{181} As part of the mother culture both dominions had grown from, Ireland’s integral place within the United Kingdom was something \textit{The Times} avidly promoted, while another newspaper stated that Britain’s concern for the

\textsuperscript{178} Ibid., xi.
\textsuperscript{179} Loughlin, \textit{Ulster unionism}, pp 15-16.
\textsuperscript{180} Coombes, \textit{Reinventing Africa}, p. 213.
\textsuperscript{181} \textit{The Times}, 29 May 1908
welfare of her sister isle extended to protecting the welfare of the village colleens in London.\textsuperscript{182}

This contrasted to the alleged ill-treatment of 135 Indian and Ceylonese workers employed at the exhibition, who were deprived of proper food and clothing while confined within the boundaries of their respective sections. The issue was raised with the home secretary in parliament, who replied he had assurances that each employee received a good salary and was free to roam through the entire exhibition every Sunday when it was closed to the public. The comment of one Irish member that he supported their apparent captivity because they resembled primitive ‘Adam before the fall’ brought laughter from members.\textsuperscript{183} The Times argued that these ‘dusky children of empire’ were now ‘living under far better conditions of sanitation, cleanliness, and space than would be possible … in the slums of Madras or Colombo’, and were only kept under such paternal control to save them from the temptations of drink and other dangers lurking in the streets of the imperial capital.\textsuperscript{184} By October, reports of the deteriorating condition of the Indian workers precipitated another request to the home secretary to intervene on their behalf. Again he stated that a sanitary inspector had recently approved their accommodation and working conditions at the site. In addition, each Indian was now being issued with blankets and woolen underwear to ensure warmth and good health against the coming winter’s inclement weather.\textsuperscript{185}

\textbf{MCCLINTON’S ADVERTISING AND ULSTER UNIONIST PROPAGANDA, 1909-1914}

Ballymaclinton proved a boon for McClinton’s.\textsuperscript{186} Following the Franco-British Exhibition, sales of Colleen Soap grew exponentially, initially in Britain then further afield and by the end of 1908 had generated an unprecedented £5,000 profit for the firm.\textsuperscript{187} The red-cloaked colleen became a ubiquitous presence on a range of company products including perfume bottles, tooth-powder canisters and shampoo packets, which all featured her skipping merrily away from her clean and tidy cottage somewhere in a

\textsuperscript{182} The Tyrone Courier, 3 Sept. 1908.
\textsuperscript{183} Hansard 4 (Commons) clxxxix, c1708 (02 Jun. 1908).
\textsuperscript{184} The Times, 10 June 1908.
\textsuperscript{185} Hansard 4 (Commons) cxciv, cc707-8 (19 Oct. 1908).
\textsuperscript{186} Freeman’s Journal, 10 June 1908; Irish Independent, 19 Oct. 1908.
\textsuperscript{187} Diary of Robert Brown, Donaghmore, Co. Tyrone, 1896-1914 (P.R.O.N.I. MIC 604/1).
generic Irish countryside (Fig. 5.5). Between 1908 and 1916 variations of this scene were reproduced in numerous British and Irish press advertisements, supplemented by textual endorsements from prominent peeresses extolling the benefits of using such a product. Combined with this were similar testimonials from notable military and naval figures that increased the imperial link, but without reducing the colleen’s role as a signifier of a gendered Irish identity conducive to sales. Her prominence on McClinton’s packaging coincided with Erin’s increased visibility on Irish public monuments erected in the second half of the nineteenth century to commemorate events significant to nationalism, especially the Fenian Rising and the United Irishmen. It also overlapped with the manufacture of colleen dolls for girls by several Irish toy companies that, along with postcards, contributed to this figure’s omnipresence in contemporary British popular culture. An example of this can be found in the popular Edwardian musical ‘Our Miss Gibbs’ (1910), in which a chorus of colleens had a brief cameo appearance. Pursued by police, the main protagonist stumbles into the Franco-British Exhibition, where he hears them singing:

Dear little colleens we,
Just up from County Down,
Come all the way from the old Country,
Over to London Town …
Each with a dimplish roguish smile.
Dressed in a smart but simple style,
Stopping over here for a fairish while,
In the village of Ballymaclinton!

Such a crossing of theatrical genres was unusual for a contemporary stage character and reveals the colleen’s mass appeal that justified her inclusion, positively, in a play not about Ireland, nor Irish people.

Robert Brown, meanwhile, diversified his firm’s promotional techniques by commissioning William Strain of Belfast to design brochures showing McClinton’s ever-expanding range of luxury toiletries. A central image on one brochure cover showed a

188 Irish Independent, 8 Jan. 1913; The Times, 28 Apr. 1913.
190 Souvenir book of the Irish revival industries show and arts and crafts exhibition (Dublin 1904), p. 11.
cornucopia of products with Celtic iconography on their packaging, above which the national trademark ‘Déanta i nÉirinn’ was prominently located (Fig. 5.6a). Inside, on page five, the displayed products were described as being milled high-class soap, indicating McClinton’s target luxury market, confirmed by the high prices listed (Fig. 5.6b). A Valentine postcard showing colleens engaged in their morning ablutions beside the toilet building at Ballymaclinton provided the cover of a soapbox, demonstrating the scope that these images achieved through continuous circulation. Page sixteen showed a miniature McKinley cottage that doubled as an ornamental box for ‘Sheila’ perfume, a brand personalising the anonymous colleen archetype on its label (Fig. 5.6c). Although recognisably Irish, this name was not as common as Biddy or Brigid and may have been chosen as a compromise because of the latter’s connotations with dirt and poverty in America.

The loading of McClinton’s advertising with the iconography of the Gaelic revival did not indicate a lessening of the Brown brother’s professed commitment to unionism. On the contrary, when advertising abroad many Ulster businessmen frequently favoured Celtic themes over imperial ones because most exported to Anglophone countries with significant Irish migrant populations. Manufacturers of damask linen tablecloths wove harps, round towers, and wolfhounds into their fabrics, while jewellers and porcelain-makers decorated their products with similar motifs. As Alvin Jackson has argued, contemporary Ulster unionism was originally dependent upon Celtic revivalism for self-definition and artistic stimulus.  

McClinton’s adoption of these motifs was thus not out of the ordinary, but they came at a time when British Conservative leader, Andrew Bonar-Law M.P. and Sir Edward Carson were rallying Ulster against the expected introduction of Home Rule. Ulster unionist convictions that they were both British and Irish were becoming increasingly strained in the face of a more vigorous Irish nationalism emerging in the south, leading to the formation of the Ulster Unionist Council in 1905 with the aim of bringing together ‘loyalist’ Protestant organisations to provide support for a parliamentary campaign.

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193 Greenhalgh, Ephemeral vistas, p. 107.
As the prospect of Home Rule for Ireland became ever more likely after 1912, McClinton’s embarked on a print advertising campaign that built on the unionist sentiments of their model Irish village. Two consecutive general elections had left the Irish Nationalist party holding the balance of power at Westminster, and a new Home Rule bill would be shelved indefinitely on the outbreak of the First World War. The company formulated a strategy that extolled the benefits of Colleen soap while simultaneously promoting the idea that British and Irish female beauty was intertwined. Thus in 1916 it published the Colleen book of British beauty, featuring a number of celebrated beauties that had impacted on eighteenth and early nineteenth-century British society. Their portraits, with texts alluding to Ulster’s loyalty to the Union, appeared in numerous British and Irish newspapers, which, with the rapid development of pictorial print technology, allowed the company and many others to lessen their reliance on text-only advertisements.195

An advertisement entitled ‘Character’ taken from a 1916 edition of the Irish Times (Fig. 5.7), features Frances Stuart who was a maid of honour to the queen consort of Charles II. The infatuated king used her portrait on coins to represent Britannia. Refusing his advances she eloped secretly with the Duke of Richmond. The text states that ‘character is as essential to the worth of an article as to that of an individual.’ This advertisement was published seven months after the Easter Rising and although possibly conceived before this event, it might nevertheless be read as a reaction to the rebellion in Dublin. McClinton’s decision to include the model of Britannia among its collection of renowned women emphasised the bond between Ulster and the Union now that southern nationalist Ireland was attempting to break it through disloyal wartime insurrection.196

This affirmation of fidelity may also be observed in ‘A Beautiful Rebel’ published as part of the same advertising campaign (Fig. 5.8). It depicts Scottish heroine Flora McDonald, who helped Bonnie Prince Charlie escape after his defeat at Culloden in 1746. Flora was arrested and imprisoned briefly in London for her Jacobite sympathies, but became popularly admired for her loyalty to the fleeing Prince. Accordingly, the text states that loyalty is a virtue essential to every British woman. It also declares that Flora

195 Irish Independent, 8 Jan. 1913; The Times, 28 Apr. 1913.
196 Irish Times, 16 Nov. 1916.
too, ‘knew the cost of sacrifice,’ a subtle reference to the casualties suffered by many Ulster families in the war now waging in France. The year 1916 is thus very significant in this respect. The 36th Ulster Division was then engaged in the Battle of the Somme and had lost 5,500 men on the first day of operations. Most were former members of the Ulster Volunteer Force, who had joined up in the hope that their enlistment would avert Home Rule being imposed on the north. Robert Brown’s son, Lawrence, had also been an Ulster volunteer before joining the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, which brought him to his death at Ypres in 1917. The title of the advertisement itself is implicit of the limits of Ulster’s loyalty. ‘Beautiful Rebel’ suggests that allegiance is not unconditional and could easily be stoked up into a subversive display if Ulster was abandoned to the wiles of a Home Rule government.

Another beautiful loyal rebel can be found on the postcard ‘Ulster 1914: “Deserted, well I’ll stand alone”’ (Fig. 5.9). It shows the politicisation of the colleen motif through Ulster unionism’s adoption of it. William Strain of Belfast published it the same year as the stalled Home Rule bill. The postcard shows a rifle-wielding colleen abandoned by her husband John Bull, standing opposite a stone wall somewhere in a besieged Ulster. A Union flag ruffles above her head, as she stands ready, perhaps against an invading army of unseen nationalists advancing northwards from Dublin. The colleen’s lone defiance in the face of such overwhelming odds links her with two figures of Ulster mythology, Macha and Cúchulainn. Macha, an ancient Irish goddess of war and sovereignty, appears in two different episodes in this legend cycle. In the first she is recorded as being the only woman in the list of Irish monarchs that triumphed over her enemies to secure the high kingship. In the other she is described as the wife of an Ulster farmer, who gave birth to twins on the finishing line, having been forced to race against the king’s horses while heavily pregnant. Angry, she cursed the men of the province to suffer her birth pangs in their hour of need, a reason why they are unable to help the semi-divine Cúchulainn defend Ulster against Queen Meabh’s marauding armies. In

200 Mary Condren, The serpent and the goddess: women, religion and power in Celtic Ireland, (San Francisco, 1989), pp 30-36.
this image the colleen is thus a working-class composite of both of Macha and Cúchulainn, an Ulster mill girl ready to martyr herself in a war against Home Rule. The cartoonist’s monogram, ‘JVB’, is written on the right foreground; his identity as yet unknown.

Ulster unionism’s use of the colleen reached its apex in commemorative postcards issued by the Ulster Printing Company to mark the signing of the 1912 Ulster Covenant (Fig. 5.10). Its signatories pledged to use all means to defeat Home Rule, including armed resistance if necessary. A year later the formation of rival paramilitary bodies, the Ulster Volunteer Force and Irish Volunteers, increased the possibility of civil war in Ireland.201 This appeared all the more likely following the successful importation of 20,000 rifles at Larne by loyalists in April 1914; and of 900 rifles and 29,000 rounds of ammunition by nationalists at Howth three months later.202 Consequently, the postcard’s depiction of a colleen wearing a Roman centurion’s helmet can be interpreted as a visual merging of Erin with Britannia. This new ‘Maiden of Ulster’ combines beauty with strength, projecting a determination never to accept Home Rule. Her prominent position above a text taken from the Ulster Covenant augments this and consolidates her place in Ulster unionist iconography.

The third Home Rule crisis played a significant part in politicising Ulster’s female population, leading to the establishment the Ulster Women’s Unionist Council in 1911. This association organised anti-Home Rule demonstrations that attracted widespread press attention.203 In 1912 the Belfast Newsletter reported on one such rally, where the ‘zeal and earnestness of the loyal women’ attending was noted.204 That same year council membership reached 40,000 women, most of who signed a supplementary declaration of support parallel to the male-only Ulster Covenant. The number of female signatories surpassed the amount of male signatories, with many women later joining the Ulster Volunteer Force as ambulance drivers, messengers and typists.205 In 1914 on the eve of the Home Rule Bill’s introduction, Bonar Law travelled to Belfast with seventy British

204 Belfast Newsletter, 19 Jan. 1912;
Unionist MPs to participate in a massive anti-Home Rule demonstration, where he told the assembled crowd that they ‘held the pass for the empire’. The failure of a conference of the parties at Buckingham Palace later that year opened the way to a final showdown of uncertain outcome once the Home Rule Bill had been put on the statute book later in the summer.206

CONCLUSION
In Ireland between 1905 and 1918, improved economic and social conditions led to higher standards of domestic hygiene and contributed to a reduction of the annual tuberculosis mortality rate by a quarter. During this period the work of Lady Aberdeen’s Women’s National Health Association was instrumental in educating the rural peasantry on maintaining cleanliness, using an itinerant exhibition to deliver its message all over the country. By 1910 the Association had 18,000 members and was closely aligned with the vicereine’s anti-tuberculosis fund, which paid for the construction of modern sanatoria.207 Two years before at the Franco-British Exhibition in London, Robert Brown had built a model example in Ballymaclinton that the Irish Tourist Association condemned as being off-putting to travellers, who otherwise might have considered Ireland as a holiday destination. At the back of the Official guide, numerous advertisements for travel agent Thomas Cook and all the main Irish railway companies were taken out in anticipation of the expected tourist traffic to Ireland.208 Irritated by the criticism of those who regarded the inclusion of a model sanatorium distasteful, McClinton’s co-owner, Robert Brown, praised his female employees for representing the ‘sunny side’ of Irish life.209 These colleens were among the exhibition’s chief attractions, drawing two million people to Ballymaclinton. Here tourists bought postcards of the colleens and kept them as souvenirs or sent them to their friends at home and abroad. The

207 Bourke, Husbandry to housewifery, p. 239.
209 Irish Independent, 15 Aug. 1908.
colleen archetype became the paramount feminine symbol of the event ahead of its presiding Britannia and Marianne.\textsuperscript{210}

Following the Franco-British exhibition McClinton’s marketed Colleen soap as a luxury brand; the Exhibition’s gold medal testified to its excellence.\textsuperscript{211} Endorsements from British noblewomen helped establish its upmarket appeal, tying in with a perceptual shift that prompted one colonial administrator to wax lyrical about a homogenous British beauty: ‘The same flag covers what we believe to be the handsomest people in the world today – English and Irish – who seem to have acquired by some mysterious process of transmission or of independent development, the physical beauty of the old Greeks.’\textsuperscript{212} McClinton’s Soap Company later used this theme in its 1916 print-adverting campaign. Having successfully established itself in the highly competitive British soap market, the firm now suffused its adverts with text and imagery that invoked Ulster’s loyalty to the Union. Colleen soap promised a perfect complexion that had once been the exclusive possession of some of the most celebrated women in British society. This link between Irish and British beauty was symbolic of an overarching British citizenship that was intended to include all those women who purchased McClinton’s toiletries. The colleen was marketed as a British woman who, like the allegorical figure of Erin she was based on, transcended region, religion and class. Her ubiquity in the model Irish village at the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition created an ideal Irish female identity, which in turn formed part of a construction of an ideal Ireland. McClinton’s portrayal of Ireland as a rural utopia devoid of sectarian hatred and sanitised of all the tension stirring in Irish society was a deliberate attempt to show Ireland’s contented place within the Union. Here capitalism and philanthropy converged to act as an extravagant argument against Home Rule. The synthesis between art and ephemera made the colleen an icon intelligible to patrons of the Irish village and helped in the creation of a successful brand personality. Ulster unionism’s official adoption of the colleen can thus be seen as logical and in keeping with the iconography available to it for self-definition. The colleen epitomised

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{210} Both of these figures appear on the cover of \textit{Franco-British Exhibition, London (Shepherd’s Bush) 1908, Official guide}.
\item \textsuperscript{211} \textit{Weekly Irish Times}, 24 Oct. 1908.
\item \textsuperscript{212} Coombes, \textit{Reinventing Africa}, p. 207.
\end{itemize}
purity and good character, and was, fundamentally, an eternal emblem integral to the identity of all Irish political groups.
Chapter 6
Conclusion: reconstruction

From 1888 to 1914, stereotypes of Irish men and women were positively reconstructed through a synthesis between model Irish villages, picture postcards and commercial packaging that departed significantly from earlier negative depictions to show a utopian Ireland cleansed of trouble. Common to all these media were visual tropes originating in Irish nationalist cartoons, where Paddy’s social uplifting throughout the 1880s refuted adverse British ideas about Irish character that reflected the Catholic bourgeois notion of itself as a respectable class worthy of Home Rule. Reconstructed Paddy’s middle-class wardrobe and humanised features symbolised this conviction on the part of his creators, who consistently drew him overcoming rapacious landlords, armed constabulary, parading Orangemen and other hostile enemies. Also inhabiting this alternative visual narrative was the colleen archetype, an embodiment of idealised Irish femininity associated with rural living and the island’s unsullied landscape. Both Paddy and colleen were intended to elicit a positive reaction in readers by displaying noble attributes supposedly prevalent in Ireland’s Catholic population. These qualities – cleanliness, enterprise, fortitude, intelligence – challenged established prejudices, most of which originated in accretions of colonial discourse spanning administrative texts, travel accounts, caricature and drama.\(^1\) The decision of nationalist cartoonists to retain sartorial aspects of the stage-Irishman’s costume formed part of this artistic repudiation; a collective disavowal made during a period of heightened political tension in Ireland that resulted in the formulation of a sectarianized Irish national identity synonymous with Catholicism. Despite exclusion from this ethnicity, Ulster Protestants still shared in its iconographic corpus, deploying graphic Paddies and colleens for self-definition whenever the political situation required it.

During the early nineteenth century a set of stock emblems – Celtic crosses, round towers, shamrocks etc – emerged symbolic of Ireland as a distinct geographical entity. A burgeoning market for lithographic reproductions of venerated historical sites followed,

fed by the popular taste for travel books with useful and attractive illustrations. Picturesque images of the Lakes of Killarney and the Giant’s Causeway diffused representations of Ireland’s landscape abroad, creating a visual shorthand for the country that was later replicated on the commercial packaging of Irish companies. After 1895 the Irish Tourist Association highlighted these features in a series of photographic guides aimed at attracting Anglophone tourists, whose expenditure was envisaged as benefitting local communities and diminishing the demand for Home Rule. Sourced primarily from the studios of Robert Welch and William Lawrence, these photographs further embedded picturesque depictions of Ireland within contemporary visual culture, linking the country with certain indigenous structures that were duplicated in model Irish villages built for international exhibitions. The sale of such photographs at these villages multiplied their dispersal and propagated a contrived and controlled perception of the island for foreign consumption.

The application of identical images to Irish postcards during the 1900s produced innumerable copies of the same subjects relative to high consumer demand. Migrating to this new medium were the menagerie of characters found in earlier Irish nationalist cartoons, with picture postcards portraying a variety of Paddies and colleens in situations resembling scenes from stage-Irish comedies. Occasionally Irish-American tourists objected to these depictions on the grounds that they projected the same degrading humour Anglo-American cartoonists had inflicted upon their forebears. Nevertheless, these illustrated postcards proved bestsellers and continued to show Paddy as a prosperous tenant farmer residing in a peaceful countryside reflective of the improved political conditions of the time, and the imminent reality of widespread tenant proprietorship. The corresponding boom in tourism to Ireland suggests that the Irish Tourist Association’s objective in rehabilitating the country’s violent reputation was largely successful, prompting *Punch* to publish a cartoon in 1911 of a simian Irishman with a sign labelled ‘Bogey’ hanging from his waist. Old arguments about rebellious, uncivilised Irish brutes were seemingly no longer taken seriously by the journal, hinting at a notable shift in British bourgeois opinion of the Irish from earlier decades. Evidence

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3 Finnan, ‘Punch’s portrayal of Redmond etc’, p. 429.
from American comic strips and trade cards suggests that a comparable change in perception was simultaneously under way in the United States, where proletarian Irish-Americans were graduating to the mainstream middle-class. This advancement was mirrored in burgeoning cinema’s predilection for showing Irish immigrants’ social progress in urban America. The colleen steadily replaced the incompetent Bridget onscreen as an exemplar of Irish femininity, echoing Paddy’s cinematic reconstruction as a male paragon of the American success ethic. Although the reception of these images in both print and motion picture is difficult to ascertain amongst contemporary audiences, their increasing appearance must be interpreted as alluding to the existence of public attitudes amenable to their circulation.

McClinton’s pre-war marketing strategy would seem to suggest the same. The firm’s adoption of the colleen archetype as a brand personality boosted company soap sales in the aftermath of the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition in London. As a central element in its merchandising the colleen provided middle class consumers with an acceptable figure shorn of previous connotations associating the Irish with dirt. The company’s adoption of the Irish trademark was motivated by the same commercial agenda, wherein a product’s Irish origin was no longer considered a hindrance to international sales. Other Ulster companies besides McClinton’s also applied similar tropes to their commercial packaging; however the latter’s newspaper advertisements were also imbued with its owners’ anxiety over the likelihood of Home Rule being granted to Ireland at a future date. This disquiet was further reflected in Ulster unionist propaganda campaigning against the proposed bill’s introduction. Between 1912 and 1914 a series of picture postcards circulated in Ireland displaying Ulster’s determination to resist Home Rule that utilised both Paddy and colleen. Paddy’s malleability as either a representation of rebellious Ireland, or else as a symbol of indigenous loyalty indicates an existing unease within Ulster unionism regarding the suitability of using this figure for

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4 Soper, ‘From Swarthy ape to etc’, p. 261.
self-definition. The colleen by contrast was more consistently deployed as a figure embodying Ulster’s argument for separation from the rest of Ireland. Following the outbreak of war in 1914 both figures featured less in Ulster unionist propaganda, which now opted to use imperial themes and iconography as a means of emphasising Ulster’s allegiance to an endangered British Empire. Consequently, Irish nationalism became the sole political movement on the island to continue to draw on reconstructed Paddies and colleens as markers of ethnic identity; a distinctiveness subsequently imagined as Catholic and rural, outside temporal progression and descended directly from ancient Gaelic culture.
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Linen Hall Library
Postcard collection

Public Records Office of Northern Ireland
Second Home Rule Papers (1893).

Ulster Museum
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R.J. Welch collection

Donaghmore
Donaghmore Heritage Centre, Co. Tyrone.
McClinton’s collection

Dublin
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Eason collection
Lawrence collection
Poole collection
Valentine collection
Roche postcard collection
National Library of Ireland
Irish cartoons and satires collection

*Limerick*
University of Limerick, Special Collections
McAnally travel collection
Norton postcard collection

*London*
Museum of London
Imre Kiralfy collection: Box 7, Exhibitions

PRIVATE COLLECTION
Bill Tonkin, London
James Valentine and Sons, picture postcard collection

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS

*Report of the select committee of the House of Lords on colonization from Ireland, together with the minutes of evidence, HC 1847 (737), vi.*

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